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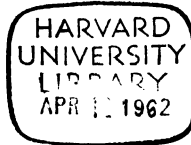
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PREFACE.

THE Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius first appeared in 1813. In Germany, for nearly seventy years it has held a foremost rank as the grammar for schools. In England and America also, for the last half-century, it has maintained its position through the versions of Stuart, Conant, and Davies, keeping pace with the progress of Semitic learning in successive editions, since the death of Gesenius, through the scholarly editorial labors of Prof. Rödiger of Berlin.

Its pre-eminence has been largely due to the thoroughness with which the grammar treats the forms of the language and the phenomena of their changes. From the first its course of thought has proceeded from a real grasp of principles and rested upon a scientific basis. The advanced student has felt assured that he would find here all the light which the present state of science affords upon any difficult point.

At the same time practical teachers have felt that there was something yet to be desired in the form of the work for adaptation to elementary instruction. The copious materials of the grammar have not always proved to be so conveniently arranged as to be easily accessible to the inexperienced student.

While the writer believes that mere beginners should not be cumbered with the task of memorizing an elaborate treatise, but should be introduced at once to the language by the briefest

possible statement of its elementary principles, — and has accordingly prefixed such a compendium of principles to Davies' Hebrew Lexicon, — yet obviously the next step should be to place in his hands a complete discussion of the whole subject, upon a true philosophical plan, which ought, at the same time, to be so classified as to be immediately within his reach.

Accordingly, when the publishers of Davies' Hebrew Lexicon requested him to prepare an edition of Davies' Gesenius' Grammar which should be suited to the wants of American teachers and students, he set before himself the aim of combining the acknowledged excellences of Gesenius with a more lucid and practical arrangement.

Happily for this purpose, he found his contemplated task in large measure anticipated by the admirable work of Prof. Kautzsch, the successor of Rödiger in the editorial revision of Gesenius. The grammar which he has produced is practically a new work, exhibiting radical changes in the treatment of important topics, and uniting, as no grammar has done before, a logical and perspicuous method with a full treatment of the difficulties of the language.

Availing himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, among which will be found an entire reconstruction of the system of the Noun and a new discussion of the Accent and the Methegh, the Daghesh euphonic and the Pause, as well as of the nominal and verbal sentence (so that §§ 93–95 and § 144 *a* are entirely new, translated from Kautzsch, while indeed nearly every page and paragraph has felt the influence of Kautzsch's scientific discernment in the suggestion of improved forms of statement), the editor has also derived some hints from the Grammars of Ewald and Stade, and has added a few notes for illustration from Delitzsch and others. No change has been made in the numbering of sections, and the notes of

Dr. Davies have been preserved, so far as they are not superseded by the text as reconstructed. They are designated by the signature *Tr.*

The references have been carefully verified (using the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms, and Isaiah), and the eighth edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volck) has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the appending of very full *Indexes* of Subjects, of Scripture, and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the Grammar are made available to the student. The Hebrew index will be found especially valuable, converting the grammar into a philological clavis for the explanation of difficult forms.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors, and in the accomplishment of it the editor has been aided by his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and by his friend Mr. Max Meyer of Paris, a native German, and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

CHICAGO, September 1880.

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TABLES
OF
SEMITIC ALPHABETS;
PARADIGMS
OF
VERBS AND NOUNS,
ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets

Inscr. of Dibun. 9th. cent. B. C. Gram. § 2.2. § 5.1.	Phoenician Coins and Inscript.	New- Pun- ic.	Old. Hebr. Coins and Gems.	Sama- ritan.	Aram.- Egyptian. 5th. - 1st. cent. B. C.	Palmyra Inscript. 1st cent. B. C. - 4th. cent. A. C.	Heb. Inscr. Christ's Time.	Square Char.	Raschi.
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𐐄 𐐅	𐐄 𐐅	𐐄	𐐄 𐐅 𐐆	𐐄 𐐅	𐐄 𐐅	𐐄 𐐅	𐐄 𐐅	𐐄	𐐄
𐐈 𐐉	𐐈 𐐉	𐐈	𐐈 𐐉 𐐊	𐐈 𐐉	𐐈 𐐉	𐐈 𐐉	𐐈 𐐉	𐐈	𐐈
𐐌 𐐍	𐐌 𐐍	𐐌	𐐌 𐐍 𐐎	𐐌 𐐍	𐐌 𐐍	𐐌 𐐍	𐐌 𐐍	𐐌	𐐌
𐐑 𐐒	𐐑 𐐒	𐐑	𐐑 𐐒 𐐓	𐐑 𐐒	𐐑 𐐒	𐐑 𐐒	𐐑 𐐒	𐐑	𐐑
𐐕 𐐖	𐐕 𐐖	𐐕	𐐕 𐐖 𐐗	𐐕 𐐖	𐐕 𐐖	𐐕 𐐖	𐐕 𐐖	𐐕	𐐕
𐐙 𐐚	𐐙 𐐚	𐐙	𐐙 𐐚 𐐛	𐐙 𐐚	𐐙 𐐚	𐐙 𐐚	𐐙 𐐚	𐐙	𐐙
𐐞 𐐟	𐐞 𐐟	𐐞	𐐞 𐐟 𐐠	𐐞 𐐟	𐐞 𐐟	𐐞 𐐟	𐐞 𐐟	𐐞	𐐞
𐐤 𐐥	𐐤 𐐥	𐐤	𐐤 𐐥 𐐦	𐐤 𐐥	𐐤 𐐥	𐐤 𐐥	𐐤 𐐥	𐐤	𐐤
𐐨 𐐩	𐐨 𐐩	𐐨	𐐨 𐐩 𐐪	𐐨 𐐩	𐐨 𐐩	𐐨 𐐩	𐐨 𐐩	𐐨	𐐨
𐐬 𐐭	𐐬 𐐭	𐐬	𐐬 𐐭 𐐮	𐐬 𐐭	𐐬 𐐭	𐐬 𐐭	𐐬 𐐭	𐐬	𐐬
𐐱 𐐲	𐐱 𐐲	𐐱	𐐱 𐐲 𐐳	𐐱 𐐲	𐐱 𐐲	𐐱 𐐲	𐐱 𐐲	𐐱	𐐱
𐐴 𐐵	𐐴 𐐵	𐐴	𐐴 𐐵 𐐶	𐐴 𐐵	𐐴 𐐵	𐐴 𐐵	𐐴 𐐵	𐐴	𐐴
𐐸 𐐹	𐐸 𐐹	𐐸	𐐸 𐐹 𐐺	𐐸 𐐹	𐐸 𐐹	𐐸 𐐹	𐐸 𐐹	𐐸	𐐸
𐐼 𐐽	𐐼 𐐽	𐐼	𐐼 𐐽 𐐾	𐐼 𐐽	𐐼 𐐽	𐐼 𐐽	𐐼 𐐽	𐐼	𐐼
𐐿 𐑀	𐐿 𐑀	𐐿	𐐿 𐑀 𐑁	𐐿 𐑀	𐐿 𐑀	𐐿 𐑀	𐐿 𐑀	𐐿	𐐿
𐑄 𐑅	𐑄 𐑅	𐑄	𐑄 𐑅 𐑆	𐑄 𐑅	𐑄 𐑅	𐑄 𐑅	𐑄 𐑅	𐑄	𐑄
𐑈 𐑉	𐑈 𐑉	𐑈	𐑈 𐑉 𐑊	𐑈 𐑉	𐑈 𐑉	𐑈 𐑉	𐑈 𐑉	𐑈	𐑈
𐑌 𐑍	𐑌 𐑍	𐑌	𐑌 𐑍 𐑎	𐑌 𐑍	𐑌 𐑍	𐑌 𐑍	𐑌 𐑍	𐑌	𐑌
𐑑 𐑒	𐑑 𐑒	𐑑	𐑑 𐑒 𐑓	𐑑 𐑒	𐑑 𐑒	𐑑 𐑒	𐑑 𐑒	𐑑	𐑑
𐑕 𐑖	𐑕 𐑖	𐑕	𐑕 𐑖 𐑗	𐑕 𐑖	𐑕 𐑖	𐑕 𐑖	𐑕 𐑖	𐑕	𐑕
𐑙 𐑚	𐑙 𐑚	𐑙	𐑙 𐑚 𐑛	𐑙 𐑚	𐑙 𐑚	𐑙 𐑚	𐑙 𐑚	𐑙	𐑙
𐑞 𐑟	𐑞 𐑟	𐑞	𐑞 𐑟 𐑠	𐑞 𐑟	𐑞 𐑟	𐑞 𐑟	𐑞 𐑟	𐑞	𐑞
𐑤 𐑥	𐑤 𐑥	𐑤	𐑤 𐑥 𐑦	𐑤 𐑥	𐑤 𐑥	𐑤 𐑥	𐑤 𐑥	𐑤	𐑤
𐑨 𐑩	𐑨 𐑩	𐑨	𐑨 𐑩 𐑪	𐑨 𐑩	𐑨 𐑩	𐑨 𐑩	𐑨 𐑩	𐑨	𐑨
𐑬 𐑭	𐑬 𐑭	𐑬	𐑬 𐑭 𐑮	𐑬 𐑭	𐑬 𐑭	𐑬 𐑭	𐑬 𐑭	𐑬	𐑬
𐑱 𐑲	𐑱 𐑲	𐑱	𐑱 𐑲 𐑳	𐑱 𐑲	𐑱 𐑲	𐑱 𐑲	𐑱 𐑲	𐑱	𐑱
𐑴 𐑵	𐑴 𐑵	𐑴	𐑴 𐑵 𐑶	𐑴 𐑵	𐑴 𐑵	𐑴 𐑵	𐑴 𐑵	𐑴	𐑴
𐑸 𐑹	𐑸 𐑹	𐑸	𐑸 𐑹 𐑺	𐑸 𐑹	𐑸 𐑹	𐑸 𐑹	𐑸 𐑹	𐑸	𐑸
𐑼 𐑽	𐑼 𐑽	𐑼	𐑼 𐑽 𐑾	𐑼 𐑽	𐑼 𐑽	𐑼 𐑽	𐑼 𐑽	𐑼	𐑼
𐑿 𐑀	𐑿 𐑀	𐑿	𐑿 𐑀 𐑁	𐑿 𐑀	𐑿 𐑀	𐑿 𐑀	𐑿 𐑀	𐑿	𐑿

Modern Semitic Alphabets.

Hebrew	Rabbinal	Samaritan	Syriac	Arabic		
				Final	Medial	Initial
א	ה	Ⲁ	ܐ	ا	ـ	أ
ב b, bh	ו	ⲁ	ܒ	ب	ـ	ب
ג g, gh	ז	Ⲃ	ܓ	ج	ـ	ج
ד d, dh	ח	ⲃ	ܔ	د	ـ	د
ה h	ט	Ⲅ	ܕ	ذ	ـ	ذ
ו w	י	ⲅ	ܕ	و	ـ	و
ז z	כ	Ⲇ	ܕ	ز	ـ	ز
ח ch	ל	ⲇ	ܕ	ح	ـ	ح
ט t	מ	Ⲉ	ܕ	ط	ـ	ط
י y	נ	ⲉ	ܕ	ي	ـ	ي
כ k, kh	ס	Ⲋ	ܕ	ك	ـ	ك
ל l	ע	ⲋ	ܕ	ل	ـ	ل
מ m	פ	Ⲍ	ܕ	م	ـ	م
נ n	צ	ⲍ	ܕ	ن	ـ	ن
ס s	ק	Ⲏ	ܕ	س	ـ	س
ע	ר	ⲏ	ܕ	ع	ـ	ع
פ p, ph	ש	Ⲑ	ܕ	ف	ـ	ف
צ q	ת	ⲑ	ܕ	ق	ـ	ق
ק q				ك	ـ	ك
ר r				ل	ـ	ل
ש sh				م	ـ	م
ת t				ن	ـ	ن
Syr. Vowels: ܐ a, ܐ e, ܐ i, ܐ o, ܐ u.				ه	ـ	ه
Arab. Vowels: َ a, ِ i, ُ u.				و	ـ	و
				ي	ـ	ي

Nominative of the Pronoun,

or

Separate Pronoun.

andei
Sing. 1. com. אֲנִי, in pause
 אֲנִי; אֲנִי, in pause
 אֲנִי I.

atah
 2. { *m.* אַתָּה (אתָּה), in
 pause אַתָּה } *thou.*
af
f. אַתָּה (אתָּה)

hu
 3. { *m.* הוּא he.
fi
f. הִיא she.

andenu
Plur. 1. com. אֲנִיחֵנו (אֲנֵנוּ),
 (אֲנֵנוּ) we.

atenu
 2. { *m.* אַתֶּם
f. אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן } *ye.*

hem
 3. { *m.* הֵם, הֵם } *they.*
f. הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

By itself.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in p. אַתָּה, אַתָּה } *thee.*
 אַתָּה; אַתָּה; אַתָּה

הוּא; הוּא (הוּא), הוּא
him.

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא her.

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ us.

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם } *you.*
 אַתֶּן; אַתֶּן

הֵם, הֵם; הֵם, הֵם*
 הֵם, הֵם; הֵם, הֵם*
them.

הֵנָּה; הֵנָּה; הֵנָּה; הֵנָּה*
 (הֵנָּה) them.

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or Suffix of the Verb.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or Suffix of
the Noun (possessive Pron.).

B.	A.	B.
With Noun demonstrative.	With Nouns Singular.	With Nouns Plur. & Dual.
אֲנִי, אַתָּה	אֲנִי my (prop. Gen. mei).	אֲנִי my.
אֲנִי, (אֲנִי)	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, in pause אֲנִי } thy (tui).	אֲנִי } thy.
not found.	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, (אֲנִי)	אֲנִי
אֲנִי, אַתָּה, (אֲנִי)	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, וְ (אֲנִי) his (ejus and suus).	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, אֲנִי*
אֲנִי	אֲנִי; אַתָּה; אֲנִי her.	אֲנִי her.
אֲנִי	אֲנִי; אַתָּה; (אֲנִי) our.	אֲנִי our.
These forms	אֲנִי; אַתָּה } your. אֲנִי; אַתָּה	אֲנִי } your. אֲנִי
are not	אֲנִי; אַתָּה } אֲנִי* אֲנִי* } their.	אֲנִי; אַתָּה } אֲנִי* אֲנִי* } their.
found.	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, אֲנִי	אֲנִי

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pr'el.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָטַל ^{qatal}	קָטַן ^{qatan}	קָטַל ^{qatal}
3. f.	קָטְלָה ^{qatala}	קָטְנָה ^{qatana}	קָטְלָה ^{qatala}
2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ ^{qatalta}	קָטַנְתָּ ^{qatanta}	קָטַלְתָּ ^{qatalta}
2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ ^{qatalti}	קָטַנְתְּ ^{qatanti}	קָטַלְתְּ ^{qatalti}
1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי ^{qatalti}	קָטַנְתִּי ^{qatanti}	קָטַלְתִּי ^{qatalti}
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָטְלוּ ^{qatalu}	קָטְנוּ ^{qatenu}	קָטְלוּ ^{qatalu}
2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם ^{qataltem}	קָטַנְתֶּם ^{qatantem}	קָטַלְתֶּם ^{qataltem}
2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן ^{qatalten}	קָטַנְתֶּן ^{qatanten}	קָטַלְתֶּן ^{qatalten}
1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ ^{qatalnu}	קָטַנְנוּ ^{qatannu}	קָטַלְנוּ ^{qatalnu}
<i>INF. constr.</i>	קָטֹל ^{qatal}	קָטֹן ^{qatan}	קָטֹל ^{qatal}
<i>INF. absol.</i>	קָטוּל ^{qatal}	קָטַל ^{qatal}	קָטֹל ^{qatal}
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	קָטֹל ^{qatal}	קָטֹן ^{qatan}	קָטֹל ^{qatal}
2. f.	קָטְלִי ^{qatali}	קָטְנִי ^{qatani}	קָטְלִי ^{qatali}
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	קָטְלוּ ^{qatalu}	קָטְנוּ ^{qatenu}	קָטְלוּ ^{qatalu}
2. f.	קָטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}	קָטְנֶנָה ^{qatana}	קָטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִקְטֹל ^{qatal}	יִקְטֹן ^{qatan}	יִקְטֹל ^{qatal}
3. f.	תִּקְטֹל ^{qatal}	תִּקְטֹן ^{qatan}	תִּקְטֹל ^{qatal}
2. m.	תִּקְטֹל ^{qatal}	תִּקְטֹן ^{qatan}	תִּקְטֹל ^{qatal}
2. f.	תִּקְטְלִי ^{qatali}	תִּקְטְנִי ^{qatani}	תִּקְטְלִי ^{qatali}
1. c.	אֶקְטֹל ^{qatal}	אֶקְטֹן ^{qatan}	אֶקְטֹל ^{qatal}
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקְטְלוּ ^{qatalu}	יִקְטְנוּ ^{qatenu}	יִקְטְלוּ ^{qatalu}
3. f.	תִּקְטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}	תִּקְטְנֶנָה ^{qatana}	תִּקְטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}
2. m.	תִּקְטְלוּ ^{qatalu}	תִּקְטְנוּ ^{qatenu}	תִּקְטְלוּ ^{qatalu}
2. f.	תִּקְטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}	תִּקְטְנֶנָה ^{qatana}	תִּקְטְלֶנָה ^{qatalena}
1. c.	נִקְטֹל ^{qatal}	נִקְטֹן ^{qatan}	נִקְטֹל ^{qatal}
<i>IMPF. Shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>PART. act.</i>	קָטֹל ^{qatal}	קָטֹן ^{qatan}	קָטֹל ^{qatal}
<i>pass.</i>	קָטוּל ^{qatal}		

Suffixes		1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
PERF. Qal	S. 3. m.	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתֶּם קָטְלוּ
	3. f.	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתֶּם קָטְלוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם קָטְלוּ
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם קָטְלוּ
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתֶּם
	Plur. 3. c.	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
	2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
INF. Qal		קָטַלְתִּי קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתֶּם
IMP. Qal 2. m. sing.		קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם
IMP. Qal 3. m. sing.		קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתֶּם
	3. m. with Nān demonstratives.	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	—	קָטַלְתֶּם
	3. m. plur.	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
PERF. Pi'el 3. m. sing.		קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתֶּם

3 Sing. f. 1 Plur. 2 Plur. m. 2 Plur. f. 3 Plur. m. 3 Plur. f.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנִי	קָטְלֵכֶם	[קָטְלֵכֶן]	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	wanting	wanting	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵן
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	—	—	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵן
קָטְלָתִיהָ	קָטְלָתֵינִי	—	—	קָטְלָתֵיִם	קָטְלָתֵיִן
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	קָטְלָתֵיכֶן	קָטְלָתֵיִם	קָטְלָתֵיִן
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	wanting	wanting	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵן
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	—	—	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵן
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	קָטְלָתֵיכֶן	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵן

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנִי	קָטְלֵכֶם } קָטְלֵכֶם }	קָטְלֵכֶן } קָטְלֵכֶן }	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
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קָטְלָתָהּ } קָטְלָתָהּ }	קָטְלָתֵנִי	—	—	קָטְלֵם	—
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קָטְלָתָהּ } קָטְלָתָהּ }	קָטְלָתֵנִי	קָטְלֵכֶם	קָטְלֵכֶן	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	—	—	—	—
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵנִי	קָטְלֵכֶם	קָטְלֵכֶן	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנִי	קָטְלֵכֶם	קָטְלֵכֶן	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
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	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Pres. S. 3. m.</i>	עֲמַד	נִעְמַד*	הֶעֱמִיד*	הֻעְמַד*
3. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידָה	נִעְמְדָה*	הֶעֱמִידָה*	הֻעְמְדָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	עֲמִידַת	נִעְמְדַת	הֶעֱמִידַת	הֻעְמְדַת
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידַת	נִעְמְדַת	הֶעֱמִידַת	הֻעְמְדַת
1. <i>c.</i>	עֲמִידָתִי	נִעְמְדָתִי	הֶעֱמִידָתִי	הֻעְמְדָתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עֲמִדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הֻעְמְדוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	עֲמִידְתֶּם*	נִעְמְדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמִידְתֶּם	הֻעְמְדְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידְתֵּן*	נִעְמְדְתֵּן	הֶעֱמִידְתֵּן	הֻעְמְדְתֵּן
1. <i>c.</i>	עֲמִידְנִי	נִעְמְדְנִי	הֶעֱמִידְנִי	הֻעְמְדְנִי
<i>Inf.</i>	עֲמַד*	נִעְמַד*	הֶעֱמִיד*	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עֹמֵד	נִעְמֵד*	הֶעֱמִיד*	הֻעְמַד*
<i>Imp. S. 2. m.</i>	עֲמַד*	חִזֵּק*	הֶעֱמַד*	הֶעֱמַד
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידִי	חִזְקִי	הֶעֱמִידִי	הֶעֱמִידִי
<i>Pl. 2. m.</i>	עֲמְדוּ	חִזְקוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	עֲמִידְנָה*	חִזְקְנָה*	הֶעֱמִידְנָה	הֶעֱמִידְנָה
<i>Impf. S. 3. m.</i>	יִעְמַד*	יִחְזַק*	יִעְמַד*	יִעְמַד*
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תִּעְמַד	תִּעְמַד
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תִּעְמַד	תִּעְמַד
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּעְמְדִי*	תִּחְזְקִי*	תִּעְמְדִי	תִּעְמְדִי*
1. <i>c.</i>	אֵעֲמַד*	אִחְזַק	אֵעֲמַד	אֵעֲמַד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִעְמְדוּ*	יִחְזְקוּ*	יִעְמְדוּ	יִעְמְדוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּעְמְדְנָה	תִּחְזְקְנָה	תִּעְמְדְנָה	תִּעְמְדְנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּעְמְדוּ	תִּחְזְקוּ	תִּעְמְדוּ	תִּעְמְדוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תִּעְמְדְנָה	תִּחְזְקְנָה	תִּעְמְדְנָה	תִּעְמְדְנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִעְמַד	נִחְזַק	נִעְמַד	נִעְמַד
<i>Impf. shortened (Jussive).</i>			יִעְמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עֹמֵד		נִעְמֵד*	מִעְמִיד*
<i>pass.</i>	עֹמֵד			מִעְמֵד*

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pr'tl.</i>	<i>Pa'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'al.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*	בָּרַח*	הִתְבָּרַח*
3. f.	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַחָה	בָּרַחָה	הִתְבָּרַחָה
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	בָּרַחְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַחְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַחְתְּ	בָּרַחְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַחְתְּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַחְתִּי	בָּרַחְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i>					
3. c.	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרַחוּ	בָּרַחוּ	הִתְבָּרַחוּ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַחְתֶּם	בָּרַחְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בָּרַחְתֶּן	בָּרַחְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַחְנוּ	בָּרַחְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַחְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שָׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*	wanting	הִתְבָּרַח*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שָׁחוּט	נִשְׁחוּט	בָּרַח*		
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	שַׁחֲט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַח*		הִתְבָּרַח*
2. f.	שַׁחֲטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרַחִי*	wanting	הִתְבָּרַחִי
<i>Pl. 2. m.</i>	שַׁחֲטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרַחוּ		הִתְבָּרַחוּ
2. f.	שַׁחֲטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַחְנָה		הִתְבָּרַחְנָה
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יִבְרַח*	יִבְרַח*	יִתְבָּרַח*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַח	תִּבְרַח	תִּתְבָּרַח
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּבְרַח	תִּבְרַח	תִּתְבָּרַח
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּשְׁחַטִי*	תִּבְרַחִי	תִּבְרַחִי	תִּתְבָּרַחִי
1. c.	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבְרַח	אֶבְרַח	אֶתְבָּרַח
<i>Plur.</i>					
3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִבְרַחוּ	יִבְרַחוּ	יִתְבָּרַחוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַחְנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּבְרַחוּ	תִּבְרַחוּ	תִּתְבָּרַחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּבְרַחְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבְרַח	נִבְרַח	נִתְבָּרַח
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> יִשְׁחַטְהוּ					
<i>PART. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נֹשֵׁחַט	מְבָרַח*		מִתְבָּרַח*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרַח*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>P'el.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁלַח*	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלְחָה	שִׁלְחָה
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתָּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ*	שִׁלַּחְתָּ*
1. c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שִׁלַּח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	שִׁלַּח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
2. f.	שִׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְחִי
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	שִׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְחוּ
2. f.	שִׁלְחֶנָּה	הִשְׁלְחֶנָּה	שִׁלְחֶנָּה*
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. f.	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי
1. c.	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחְתִּי		
<i>PART. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֵחַ	שֹׁמֵשֵׁלַח*
<i>pass.</i>	שֹׁלְחָה*		

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	סָב*	נָסַב*	הִסָּב*
3. f.	סָבָה	נָסְבָה*	הִסָּבָה*
2. m.	סָבוֹת*	נָסְבוֹת*	הִסָּבוֹת*
2. f.	סָבוֹת	נָסְבוֹת	הִסָּבוֹת
1. c.	סָבוֹתִי	נָסְבוֹתִי	הִסָּבוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	סָבוּ	נָסְבוּ	הִסָּבוּ
2. m.	סָבוּחֶם	נָסְבוּחֶם	הִסָּבוּחֶם
2. f.	סָבוּחֶן	נָסְבוּחֶן	הִסָּבוּחֶן
1. c.	סָבוּנִי	נָסְבוּנִי	הִסָּבוּנִי
<i>INF.</i>	סֵב*	הִסָּב*	הִסָּב*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	סָבוֹב	הִסָּבוֹב	הִסָּב
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	סֵב*	הִסָּב	הִסָּב*
2. f.	סֵבִי	הִסָּבִי*	הִסָּבִי
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	סָבוּ	הִסָּבוּ	הִסָּבוּ
2. f.	סִפְּיָה*	הִסָּפְּיָה*	הִסָּפְּיָה*
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	סֵיֵב*	סֵיֵב*	יִסֵּב*
3. f.	הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב	תִּסֵּב
2. m.	הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב	תִּסֵּב
2. f.	תִּסֵּבִי*	תִּסֵּבִי	תִּסֵּבִי*
1. c.	אִסֵּב	אִסֵּב	אִסֵּב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִסֵּבוּ	יִסֵּבוּ	יִסֵּבוּ
3. f.	תִּסְפְּיָה*	תִּסְפְּיָה	תִּסְפְּיָה*
2. m.	תִּסֵּבוּ	תִּסֵּבוּ	תִּסֵּבוּ
2. f.	תִּסְפְּיָה	תִּסְפְּיָה	תִּסְפְּיָה
1. c.	נָסַב	נָסַב	נָסַב
<i>IMPF. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּסֵּב*		וַיִּסֵּב
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִסְפְּנִי*		(יִסְפְּנִי) יִסְפְּנִי*
<i>PART. act.</i>	סָבֵב	נָסַב	יִסֵּב*
<i>pass.</i>	סָבִיב*		

	Qāl.		Niph'al. Hiph'il. Höph'al.			
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	נָגַשׁ	נָפַל	נָתַן	נִגְּשׁ*	הִגְּשׁ*	הִגְּשׁ*
3. f.	etc.	etc.	נָתְנָה	נִגְּשָׁה	הִגְּשָׁה	הִגְּשָׁה
2. m.			נָתַתָּ	נִגְּשָׁתָּ	הִגְּשָׁתָּ	הִגְּשָׁתָּ
2. f.			נָתַתְּ	נִגְּשָׁתְּ	הִגְּשָׁתְּ	הִגְּשָׁתְּ
1. c.			נָתַתָּה	נִגְּשָׁתְּהי	הִגְּשָׁתְּהי	הִגְּשָׁתְּהי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	regular		נָתְנוּ	נִגְּשׁוּ	הִגְּשׁוּ	הִגְּשׁוּ
2. m.			נָתַתֶּם	נִגְּשָׁתֶם	הִגְּשָׁתֶם	הִגְּשָׁתֶם
2. f.			נָתַתֶּן	נִגְּשָׁתֶן	הִגְּשָׁתֶן	הִגְּשָׁתֶן
1. c.			נָתַתְּהוּ	נִגְּשָׁתְּהוּ	הִגְּשָׁתְּהוּ	הִגְּשָׁתְּהוּ
<i>INF.</i>	נִגְּשׁוּ*	נָפַל*	נָתַן	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְגִּישׁ*	הִנְגִּישׁ*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	נִגְּשׁוּ	נָפַל	נָתַן	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְגִּישׁ*	הִנְגִּישׁ*
<i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i>	נִגְּשׁ*	נָפַל	נָתַן	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְגִּישׁ*	
2. f.	נִגְּשִׁי	נָפְלִי	נָתַנִּי	הִנְגֹּשִׁי	הִנְגִּישִׁי	wanting
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	נִגְּשׁוּ	נָפְלוּ	נָתְנוּ	הִנְגֹּשׁוּ	הִנְגִּישׁוּ	
2. f.	נִגְּשִׁינָה	נָפְלִינָה	נָתְנָה	הִנְגֹּשִׁינָה	הִנְגִּישִׁינָה	
<i>IMP. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יִגְּשׁ	יָפַל	יָתַן	יִנְגֹּשׁ	יִגְּשִׁי*	יִגְּשִׁי*
3. f.	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְפַּל	הִנְתַּן	etc.	הִנְגִּישִׁי	הִנְגִּישִׁי
2. m.	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְפַּל	הִנְתַּן		הִנְגִּישִׁי	הִנְגִּישִׁי
2. f.	הִנְגִּישִׁי	הִנְפְּלִי	הִנְתַּנִּי		הִנְגִּישִׁי	הִנְגִּישִׁי
1. c.	הִנְגֹּשׁ	הִנְפַּל	הִנְתַּן		הִנְגִּישִׁי	הִנְגִּישִׁי
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִגְּשׁוּ	יָפְלוּ	יָתְנוּ	regu- lar.	יִגְּשׁוּ	יִגְּשׁוּ
3. f.	הִנְגִּישְׁנָה	הִנְפְּלִינָה	הִנְתַּנְּהוּ		הִנְגִּישְׁנָה	הִנְגִּישְׁנָה
2. m.	הִנְגֹּשׁוּ	הִנְפְּלוּ	הִנְתְּנוּ		הִנְגִּישׁוּ	הִנְגִּישׁוּ
2. f.	הִנְגִּישְׁנָה	הִנְפְּלִינָה	הִנְתַּנְּהוּ		הִנְגִּישְׁנָה	הִנְגִּישְׁנָה
1. c.	נִגְּשׁ	נָפַל	יָתַן		נִגְּשִׁי	נִגְּשִׁי
<i>IMP. shortened (Jussive).</i>						יִגְּשִׁי*
<i>PART. act.</i>	נִגְּשׁ	נָפַל	נָתַן	נִגְּשׁ*	מִגְּשִׁי*	
<i>pass.</i>	נִגְּשִׁי	—	נָתַן			מִגְּשִׁי*

Qal. Niph'al. Hiph'il. Hōph'al.

PERF. אָכַל נִאָכַל* הִיאָכִיל* הִיאָכַל*

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

<i>INF.</i>	אָכַל	הִיאָכַל	הִיאָכִיל	הִיאָכַל
<i>INF. absol.</i>	אָכֹל	הִיאָכֹל	wanting	wanting

<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	אָכַל*	הִיאָכַל	הִיאָכַל	
2. f.	אָכְלִי	etc.	etc.	
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	אָכְלוּ			wanting
2. f.	אָכְלֶנָּה			

<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	אָכַל* (in P. יֵאָכַל)	יֵאָכַל*	יֵאָכִיל*	יֵאָכַל*
3. f.	תֵּאָכַל	etc.	etc.	etc.
2. m.	תֵּאָכַל			
2. f.	תֵּאָכְלִי			
1. c.	אָכַל*			
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יֵאָכְלוּ			
3. f.	תֵּאָכְלֶנָּה			
2. m.	תֵּאָכְלוּ			
2. f.	תֵּאָכְלֶנָּה			
1. c.	נֵאָכַל			

<i>IMPF. with Wāw</i> <i>consecutive.</i>	יֵאָכַל*, יֵאָכֵר*
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<i>PART. act.</i>	אָכַל	נֹאכַל	מֵאָכִיל	
<i>pass.</i>	אָכֹל			מֵאָכֹל

b*

	Qal.	Niphal
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נָשַׁב
3. f.		*נָשְׁבָה
2. m.		נָשְׁבָה
2. f.		נָשְׁבָה
1. c.	regular	נָשְׁבָהָי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>		נָשְׁבוּ
2. m.		נָשְׁבָתָם
2. f.		נָשְׁבָתָן
1. c.		נָשְׁבָנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	יָסַד, *שָׁבַח	*הָיָשַׁב
<i>INF. absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting
<i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i>	*שֵׁב	*הָיָשֵׁב
2. f.	שְׁבִי	הָיָשְׁבִי
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	שְׁבוּ	הָיָשְׁבוּ
2. f.	שְׁבֹנָה	הָיָשְׁבֹנָה
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	*יֹשֵׁב	*יֹיִרֵשׁ
3. f.	תֹּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ
2. m.	תֹּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ
2. f.	תֹּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי
1. c.	אֹשֵׁב	אִירֵשׁ
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יֹשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ
3. f.	תֹּשְׁבֹנָה	תִּירְשְׁנָה
2. m.	תֹּשְׁבוּ	תִירְשׁוּ
2. f.	תֹּשְׁבֹנָה	תִּירְשְׁנָה
1. c.	נֹשֵׁב	נִירֵשׁ
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>		
<i>IMPF. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיֹּשֵׁב	
<i>PART. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	*נָשַׁב
<i>pass</i>	יֹשׁוּב	

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Höph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת	*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת	יָשַׁב regular. יָשַׁב יָשׁוּב	*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת הוֹשִׁבֶת
*הוֹשִׁיב *הוֹשִׁיב	*הוֹשִׁיב	יָשַׁב יָשׁוּב	*הוֹשִׁיב *הוֹשִׁיב
*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁבֶנָּה	wanting	יָשַׁב יָשׁוּבִי יָשׁוּבוּ יָשׁוּבֶנָּה	*הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁבֶנָּה
*יֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹשֵׁבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה נוֹשֵׁב	*יֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹשֵׁבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה נוֹשֵׁב	*יֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹשֵׁבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה נִיֵּשֵׁב	*יֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יֹשֵׁבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁבֶנָּה נִיֵּשֵׁב
*יֹשֵׁב *נִיֵּשֵׁב		נִיֵּשֵׁב, נִיֵּשֵׁב	יִיֵּשֵׁב
*מוֹשִׁיב	*מוֹשִׁיב	יָשַׁב יָשׁוּב	מִיֵּשֵׁב

	Qal.			Niph'al. Hiph'il. Hoph'al.		
<i>PERF. S.</i>	3. m.	קָם * מָת * בָּשׁ	נָקָם * הָקִים * הוּקַם *	הָקִים * הוּקַם *	הוּקַם *	
	3. f.	קָמָה * מָתָה * בָּשָׂה	נָקְמָה * הָקִימָה * הוּקְמָה *	הָקִימָה * הוּקְמָה *	הוּקְמָה *	
	2. m.	קָמַת * מָתָה * בָּשַׁת	נָקִימֹת * הָקִימוֹת * הוּקְמוֹת *	הָקִימוֹת * הוּקְמוֹת *	הוּקְמוֹת *	
	2. f.	קָמַת * מָת * בָּשַׁת	נָקִימוֹת * הָקִימוֹת * הוּקְמוֹת *	הָקִימוֹת * הוּקְמוֹת *	הוּקְמוֹת *	
	1. c.	קָמַתִּי * מָתִי * בָּשַׁתִּי	נָקִימוֹתִי * הָקִימוֹתִי * הוּקְמוֹתִי *	הָקִימוֹתִי * הוּקְמוֹתִי *	הוּקְמוֹתִי *	
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ * מָתוּ * בָּשׁוּ	נָקְמוּ * הָקִימוּ * הוּקְמוּ *	הָקִימוּ * הוּקְמוּ *	הוּקְמוּ *	
	2. m.	קָמַתֶּם * מָתֶם * בָּשַׁתֶּם	נָקִימוֹתֶם * הָקִימוֹתֶם * הוּקְמוֹתֶם *	הָקִימוֹתֶם * הוּקְמוֹתֶם *	הוּקְמוֹתֶם *	
	2. f.	קָמַתְּן * מָתְנָן * בָּשַׁתְּנָן	נָקִימוֹתְנָן * הָקִימוֹתְנָן * הוּקְמוֹתְנָן *	הָקִימוֹתְנָן * הוּקְמוֹתְנָן *	הוּקְמוֹתְנָן *	
	1. c.	קָמַנִּי * מָתַנִּי * בָּשַׁנִּי	נָקִימוֹנִי * הָקִימוֹנִי * הוּקְמוֹנִי *	הָקִימוֹנִי * הוּקְמוֹנִי *	הוּקְמוֹנִי *	
<i>INF.</i>		קֹם * בֹּשׂ	הִקֹּם * הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם * הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם *	
<i>INF. absol.</i>		קֹם *	הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם *	
<i>IMP. S.</i>	2. m.	קֹם *	הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם *	הִקֹּם *	
	2. f.	קֹימִי *	הִקְוִימִי *	הִקְוִימִי *	הִקְוִימִי *	
<i>Pl.</i>	2. m.	קְוֹמוּ	הִקְוֹמוּ	הִקְוֹמוּ	הִקְוֹמוּ	wanting
	2. f.	קְוִימָה *	הִקְוִימָה	הִקְוִימָה	הִקְוִימָה	
<i>IMPF. S.</i>	3. m.	יִקֹּם *	יִקֹּם *	יִקֹּם *	יִקֹּם *	
	3. f.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	
	2. m.	תִּקֹּם	etc.	תִּקֹּם	תִּקֹּם	
	2. f.	תִּקְוִימִי *	תִּקְוִימִי *	תִּקְוִימִי *	תִּקְוִימִי *	
	1. c.	אִקֹּם	אִקֹּם	אִקֹּם	אִקֹּם	
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְוֹמוּ	יִקְוֹמוּ	יִקְוֹמוּ	יִקְוֹמוּ	
	3. f.	תִּקְוִימָנָה *	תִּקְוִימָנָה	תִּקְוִימָנָה *	תִּקְוִימָנָה *	
	2. m.	תִּקְוֹמוּ	תִּקְוֹמוּ	תִּקְוֹמוּ	תִּקְוֹמוּ	
	2. f.	תִּקְוִימָנָה	תִּקְוִימָנָה	תִּקְוִימָנָה	תִּקְוִימָנָה	
	1. c.	נִקֹּם	נִקֹּם	נִקֹּם	נִקֹּם	
<i>IMPF. shortened.</i>		יִקֹּם			יִקֹּם *	
<i>IMPF. with 'consec.</i>		יִקֹּם, יִקֹּם *			יִקֹּם *	
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>		יִקְוִימִי *			יִקְוִימִי *	
<i>PART. act.</i>		קֹם * מָת * בָּשׁ	נָקָם *	נָקָם *	נָקָם *	
<i>pass.</i>		קֹם *			קֹם *	מִקְוֹם *

<i>Prēl.</i>	<i>Pa'lāl.</i>	<i>Qāl.</i>		<i>Ntph'al.</i>
קוּמִים*	קוּמִים*	בִּין*	בִּין*	נְבוּן*
קוּמְמָה	קוּמְמָה	בִּנָּה*	בִּינָה*	נְבוּנָה
קוּמְמָתָ	קוּמְמָתָ	בִּנְתָ*	בִּינוּת*	נְבוּנוּת
קוּמְמָתָ	קוּמְמָתָ	בִּנְתָ	בִּינוּת	נְבוּנוּת
קוּמְמָתִי	קוּמְמָתִי	בִּנְתִי	בִּינוּתִי	נְבוּנוּתִי
קוּמְמָו	קוּמְמָו	בְּנִי	בִּינִי	נְבוּנִי
קוּמְמָתָם	קוּמְמָתָם	בִּנְתָם	בִּינוּתָם	נְבוּנוּתָם
קוּמְמָתָן	קוּמְמָתָן	בִּנְתָן	בִּינוּתָן	נְבוּנוּתָן
קוּמְמָנִי	קוּמְמָנִי	בְּנֵי	בִּינוּנִי	נְבוּנוּנִי
קוּמִים		בִּין*		הַבּוּן
		בֶּן*		הַבּוּן
קוּמִים		בִּין*		הַבּוּן
קוּמְמִי		בִּינִי		as
קוּמְמוֹ	wanting	בִּינִי		הַקּוּם
קוּמְמָנָה		—		
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין*		יְבוּן
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין		as
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין		יְקוּם
יְקוּמְמִי	יְקוּמְמִי	יְבִינִי		
יְקוּמִים	יְקוּמִים	יְבִין		
יְקוּמְמוֹ	יְקוּמְמוֹ	יְבִינִי		
יְקוּמְמָנָה	יְקוּמְמָנָה	יְבִינָה*		
יְקוּמְמוֹ	יְקוּמְמוֹ	יְבִינִי		
יְקוּמְמָנָה	יְקוּמְמָנָה	יְבִינָה		
נְקוּמִים	נְקוּמִים	נְבִין		
		יְבִין*		
		יְבִין*		
		יְבִינִי*		
מְקוּמִים		בֶּן*		נְבוּן
	מְקוּמִים	בִּין*		

	Qal.		Niph'al.	Pr'el.
<i>PERF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	מָצָא*	מָלָא	נִמְצָא*	מִצָּא
3. f.	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	מִצְאָה
2.m.	מָצָאתָ*	מָלָאתָ	נִמְצָאתָ*	מִצָּאתָ*
2. f.	מָצְאתָ	מָלְאתָ	נִמְצְאתָ	מִצְאתָ
1. c.	מָצָאתִי	מָלְאתִי	נִמְצָאתִי	מִצָּאתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצְאוּ
2.m.	מָצַאתֶם	מָלַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מִצְאתֶם
2. f.	מָצַאתְנָה	מָלַאתְנָה	נִמְצַאתְנָה	מִצְאתְנָה
1. c.	מָצַאתִנִּי	מָלַאתִנִּי	נִמְצַאתִנִּי	מִצְאתִנִּי
<i>INF.</i>	מִצֵּא		הִמְצֵא	מִצָּא
<i>INF. absol.</i>	מִצֵּא		נִמְצֵא	מִצָּא
<i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i>	מָצֵא*		הִמְצֵא	מִצָּא
2. f.	מָצְאִי		הִמְצְאִי	מִצְאִי
<i>Plur. 2.m.</i>	מָצְאוּ		הִמְצְאוּ	מִצְאוּ
2. f.	מָצְאֵנָה*		הִמְצְאֵנָה	מִצְאֵנָה*
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	יִמְצָא*		יִמְצָא*	יִמְצָא
3. f.	תִּמְצָא		תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצָא
2.m.	תִּמְצָא		תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצָא
2. f.	תִּמְצָאִי		תִּמְצָאִי	תִּמְצָאִי
1. c.	אִמְצָא		אִמְצָא	אִמְצָא
<i>Plur. 3.m.</i>	יִמְצְאוּ		יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
3. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*		תִּמְצְאֵנָה*	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*
2.m.	תִּמְצְאוּ		תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ
2. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה		תִּמְצְאֵנָה	תִּמְצְאֵנָה
1. c.	נִמְצָא		נִמְצָא	נִמְצָא
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>				
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	יִמְצְאֵנִי			יִמְצְאֵנִי
<i>PART. act.</i>	מִצֵּא		נִמְצֵא	מִצָּא
<i>pass.</i>	מִצִּינָה			

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pre'l.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. m.	פָּלַח*	נִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח*
3. f.	פָּלַחַת*	נִפְּלַחַת*	פָּלַחַת*
2. m.	פָּלַיִת*	נִפְּלַיִת* (פָּלַיִת)	פָּלַיִת* (פָּלַיִת)
2. f.	פָּלִיחַ	נִפְּלִיחַ	פָּלִיחַ
1. c.	פָּלִיחִי	נִפְּלִיחִי	פָּלִיחִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	פָּלְחוּ*	נִפְּלְחוּ	פָּלְחוּ
2. m.	פָּלִיחִים	נִפְּלִיחִים	פָּלִיחִים
2. f.	פָּלִיחוֹן	נִפְּלִיחוֹן	פָּלִיחוֹן
1. c.	פָּלִיכֻם	נִפְּלִיכֻם	פָּלִיכֻם
<i>IMP.</i>	פָּלְחוּ*	הִפְּלְחוּ*	פָּלְחוּ*
<i>IMP. absol.</i>	פָּלַח	נִפְּלַח	פָּלַח, פָּלְחָה
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	פָּלַח*	הִפְּלַח*	פָּלַח*
2. f.	פָּלִי*	הִפְּלִי*	פָּלִי*
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	פָּלְחוּ	הִפְּלְחוּ	פָּלְחוּ
2. f.	פָּלְכֶנָּה*	הִפְּלְכֶנָּה*	פָּלְכֶנָּה*
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*	יִפְּלַח*
3. f.	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
2. m.	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח	תִּפְּלַח
2. f.	תִּפְּלִי*	תִּפְּלִי*	תִּפְּלִי*
1. c.	אִפְּלַח	אִפְּלַח	אִפְּלַח
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִפְּלְחוּ	יִפְּלְחוּ	יִפְּלְחוּ
3. f.	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה*	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה*	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה*
2. m.	תִּפְּלְחוּ	תִּפְּלְחוּ	תִּפְּלְחוּ
2. f.	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה	תִּפְּלִיכֶנָּה
1. c.	נִפְּלַח	נִפְּלַח	נִפְּלַח
<i>IMP. shortened (Jussive).</i>	יִפְּלֵ*	נִפְּלֵ*	יִפְּלֵ*
<i>IMP. with Suff.</i>	יִפְּלִי*		יִפְּלִי*
<i>PART. act.</i>	פָּלַח*	נִפְּלַח*	מִפְּלַח*
<i>pass.</i>	פָּלְחִי		

<i>Pā'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Höph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
הִגְלָה*	הִגְלָה*	הִגְלָה*	הִתְגַּלָּה*
הִגְלָתָה*	הִגְלָתָה*	הִגְלָתָה*	הִתְגַּלָּתָה*
הִגְלִיתָ*	הִגְלִיתָ* (הִ—)	הִגְלִיתָ*	הִתְגַּלִּיתָ*
הִגְלִיתִי	הִגְלִיתִי* (הִ—)	הִגְלִיתִי	הִתְגַּלִּיתִי
הִגְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ
הִגְלִיתֶם	הִגְלִיתֶם* (הִ—)	הִגְלִיתֶם	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶם
הִגְלִיתֶן	הִגְלִיתֶן* (הִ—)	הִגְלִיתֶן	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶן
הִגְלִיטָה	הִגְלִיטָה	הִגְלִיטָה	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה
הִגְלוּת*	הִגְלוּת*	הִגְלוּת*	הִתְגַּלוּת*
	הִגְלָה*		הִתְגַּלָּה*
wanting	הִגְלִי*	wanting	הִתְגַּלִּי*
	הִגְלוּ		הִתְגַּלוּ
	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה*		הִתְגַּלִּיטָה*
הִגְלָה*	הִגְלָה*	הִגְלָה*	הִתְגַּלָּה*
הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה
הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה
הִתְגַּלִּי*	הִתְגַּלִּי*	הִתְגַּלִּי*	הִתְגַּלִּי*
הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה*	הִתְגַּלָּה
הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ
הִתְגַּלִּיטָה*	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה*	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה*
הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ
הִתְגַּלִּיטָה	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה	הִתְגַּלִּיטָה
הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִתְגַּלָּה
	הִגְלִי*		הִתְגַּלִּי*
	הִתְגַּלִּי*		
	הִתְגַּלָּה*		הִתְגַּלָּה*
הִתְגַּלָּה*		הִתְגַּלָּה*	

Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.

Singular.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוס	a horse	סוסה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוס	horse-of.	סוסה	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוסי	my horse.	סוסתי	my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסך	thy horse.	סוסתך	thy mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסך	thy horse.	סוסתך	thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסו	his horse.	סוסו	his mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסה	her horse.	סוסה	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוסנו	our horse.	סוסנו	our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסכם	your horse.	סוסכם	your mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסכן	your horse.	סוסכן	your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסם	their horse.	סוסם	their mare.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסן	their horse.	סוסן	their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוסים	horses.	סוסות	mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוסי	horses-of.	סוסות	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוסי	my horses.	סוסתי	my mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסיה	thy horses.	סוסתיה	thy mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסיה	thy horses.	סוסתיה	thy mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסי	his horses.	סוסיו	his mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסיה	her horses.	סוסיה	her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוסינו	our horses.	סוסותינו	our mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסיהם	your horses.	סוסותיהם	your mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסיהן	your horses.	סוסותיהן	your mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סוסיהם	their horses.	סוסותיהם	their mares.
{ <i>fem.</i>	סוסיהן	their horses.	סוסותיהן	their mares.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

	I.					
		b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	~~מֶלֶךְ~~ מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶזַח	פֶּעַל
		(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶזַח	פֶּעַל
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נֶזְחִי	פַּעְלִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלְכִיכֶם	סִפְרִיכֶם	קֹדְשִׁיכֶם	נַעְרִיכֶם	נֶזְחִיכֶם	פַּעְלִיכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מִלְכִּים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נֶזְחִים	פַּעְלִים
" <i>constr.</i>	מִלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נֶזְחֵי	פַּעְלֵי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מִלְכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נַעְרֵי	נֶזְחֵי	פַּעְלֵי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מִלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעְרֵיכֶם	נֶזְחֵיכֶם	פַּעְלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלִים	קַפְלִים	מַתְנִים	נַעְלִים		צַהֲרִים
	(feet)	(two-folds or double)	(loins)	(sandals)		(noon, prop. 2 lights)
" <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלֵי		מַתְנֵי	נַעְלֵי		

	I.						
	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֵק
	(death)	(olive)	(scourge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
" <i>constr.</i>	מוֹת	זֵית	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם, יָם	אִם	חֵק.
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מוֹתִי	זֵיתִי	שׁוֹטִי	פֵּרִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מוֹתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם	פֵּרִיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	אִמֵּיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מוֹתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	צִבְרִים	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
" <i>constr.</i>	מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(gazelles)	יָמֵי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקֵּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מוֹתֵי	זֵיתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי		יָמֵי	אִמּוֹתֵי	חֻקֵּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מוֹתֵיכֶם	זֵיתֵיכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינִים	יוֹמִים	לְחָיִים	כַּפַּיִם	שִׁנָּיִם	
		(eyes)	(two days)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
" <i>constr.</i>		עֵינֵי			כַּפַּי	שִׁנָּי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	בָּתָּח (shoulder)	חֵצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבַר	חֲכָם	זָקֵן	בְּתָח	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקִנִי	בְּתָצִי	חֲצֵרִי	שָׂדִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְכֶם	חֲכָמְכֶם	זָקִנְכֶם		חֲצֵרְכֶם	שָׂדֶכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקִנִים		חֲצֵרִים	[שָׂדִים]
„ <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקִנֵי		חֲצֵרֵי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרַי	חֲכָמַי	זָקִנִי		חֲצֵרַי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקִנֵיכֶם		חֲצֵרֵיכֶם	
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפִים (wings)	חֲלָצִים (loins)	רֵגְלָיִם (thigh)			
„ <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפַי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אֹיֵב (enemy)	חֹזֶה (prophet)	פֶּקִיד (overseer)	עָנִי (poor)	כָּתָב (writing)
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֶה	פֶּקִיד	עָנִי	כָּתָב
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		כָּתָבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֹיְבֵכֶם	חֹזְכֶם	פֶּקִידְכֶם		כָּתָבְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	פֶּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	כָּתָבִים
„ <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמֵי	אֹיְבֵי	חֹזֵי	פֶּקִידֵי	עָנֵי	כָּתָבֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמַי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֶּקִידִי		כָּתָבִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֶּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנֵיכֶם	כָּתָבֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מִלְקָחַיִם (tongs)	מֵאזְנָיִם (balance)		שְׁבָעִים (fortnight)		
„ <i>constr.</i>		מֵאזְנֵי				

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מַלְכָּה (queen)	חֲרָפָה (reproach)	חֲרָבָה (waste)	חֻקָּה (law)	גְּבֵרָה (mistress)
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֻקָּה	גְּבֵרָה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרָפָתִי	חֲרָבָתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבֵרָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חֲרָפָתְכֶם	חֲרָבָתְכֶם	חֻקָּתְכֶם	גְּבֵרָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
" <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי	חֲרָפוֹתִי	חֲרָבוֹתִי	חֻקּוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רִקְצָתַיִם (double embroidery)			מִצְלָתַיִם (cymbals)

II.

III.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צֶדֶקָה (justice)	זַעֲקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יֹלְקָה (sprout)	גִּלְגָּלָה (skull)
" <i>constr.</i>	צֶדֶקָה	זַעֲקָה	שָׁנָה	יֹלְקָה	גִּלְגָּלָה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	צֶדֶקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יֹלְקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	צֶדֶקָתְכֶם	זַעֲקָתְכֶם	שָׁנָתְכֶם	יֹלְקָתְכֶם	גִּלְגָּלָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יֹלְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יֹלְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יֹלְקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absol.</i>			שְׁנַתַּיִם (lips)	יֹלְקָתַיִם (cymbals)	[יְחֻשָּׁתַיִם] (pair of fetters)
" <i>constr.</i>			שְׁנַתַּיִם		

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

*With the Masculine.**With the Feminine.*

	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָד
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה
6.	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה
9.	תְּשֵׁעָה	תְּשֵׁעַת	תְּשֵׁעָה	תְּשֵׁעַת
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה

*Masc.**Fem.*

11. { אחד עשר אחת עשרה
 { עשרי עשר עשרי עשרה
 12. { שנים עשר שתי עשרה
 { שני עשר שתי עשרה
 13. שלשה עשר שלש עשרה

- 100 מאָה *fem., constr.* מאָה *plur.* מאֹת *hundreds.*
 200 מאָתַיִם *dual (for מאָתַיִם).*
 300 שלש מאֹת.
 400 אַרְבַּע מאֹת *etc.*
 1000 אֶלֶף *masc., plur.* אֶלֶפִּים *thousands.*
 2000 אֶלֶפִּים *(dual).*
 3000 שלש אֶלֶפִּים.
 4000 אַרְבַּע אֶלֶפִּים *etc.*
 10000 { רִבְבֵּה, but, in later books.
 { רִבּוֹא *pl.* רִבְאוֹת (contracted רִבוֹת).
 20000 שְׁנֵי רִבְבֵּיִם *(dual), also שְׁנֵי רִבוֹת.*
 30000 שלש רִבְאוֹת.
 40000 אַרְבַּע רִבְאוֹת *etc.*
 60000 שְׁשֶׁרֶבְאוֹת.

a) ל with the suffixes:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. לִי to me.	לָנוּ to us.
2. { m. לְךָ, in pause לָּךְ } to f. לְּךָ } thee.	לָכֶם, [לָכֶן] לָכֶנָּה } to you.
3. { m. לוֹ to him. f. לָּהּ to her.	לָהֶם, לָהֶנָּה, poet. לָלֵהֶם } to them. לָהֶן

ל takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have לָהֶם, לָם, לָהֶנָּה; fem. לָהֶן or לָהֶן, לָהֶנָּה.

b) כ with the suffixes:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. כִּמְדוֹנִי ⁴ as I.	כִּמְדוֹנֵינוּ as we.
2. { m. כִּמְדוֹנְךָ } as thou. f. — }	כִּכֶּם, seldom כִּמְדוֹכֶם } as ye. — — — }
3. { m. כִּמְדוֹנָיו as he. f. כִּמְדוֹנֶיהָ as she.	כָּהֶם, כָּהֶן, כָּהֶנָּה } as they. כָּהֶן, כָּהֶנָּה }

c) מן with the suffixes:—

Sing.	Plur.
1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מִמֶּנִּי from me.	מִמֶּנּוּ from us.
2. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, in p. מִמֶּנּוּ } from thee. f. מִמֶּנּוּ }	מִמֶּנֶם } from you. מִמֶּנָּה }
3. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִמֶּנּוּ, מִמֶּנּוּ from him. f. מִמֶּנּוּ from her.	מִמֶּנֶם, מִמֶּנָּה, poet. מִמֶּנֶם } from them. מִמֶּנָּה }

1 לָּךְ happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

2 See Note 2 on p. 261.

3 Not לָּךְ, which signifies therefore.

4 The use of לָּ for לָ here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient name for the collective nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites*, *Semitic languages*, borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)¹.

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic*, in the southern part of the Semitic territory. To this belongs the Ethiopic

¹ From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramæan and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic. Among the Shemites are reckoned also (in v. 22) the Elamites and Assyrians, whose language, after long uncertainty, has now been proved Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).¹ II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew*, with which the *Canaanitic* and *Phœnician* (Punic) nearly coincide, holds a position, both in its character and geographically, about midway between the Arabic and the Aramæan. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramæan or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*² (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramæan (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatean*³ inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian* (with the *Old-Babylonian*), as it appears in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.⁴

¹ On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see *Rödiger's* Excursus to Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien* (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, *Ewald* in *Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* Bd. V, and in *Höfer's* *Zeitsch.*, Bd. I, *M. A. Levy* and *Osiander* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, *Prätorius*, *ibid.* Bd. XXVI.

² See *Nöldeke* über d. Mundart d. Mandäer, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root  to dip; comp. *Am. Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1851, p. 563.

³ Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see *Tuch* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., *M. A. Levy* *ibid.*, Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., *Blau* *ibid.*, Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., *E. Meier* *ibid.* Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., *de Vogüé* in *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his *Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

⁴ The deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform writing has been chiefly advanced by *Ed. Hincks*, *Jul. Oppert* and *Eberh. Schrader* after the example of *Rawlinson's* first attempts; see *Oppert's* *Eléments de la gramm. assyrienne*, 2 édition, Paris, 1868; *Olshausen's* *Prüfung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache*, in den *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akademie*, 1864; *Joach.*

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects): or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan¹, the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings fondly aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Arian*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Celtic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.² The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: *a*) among

Ménant, Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assyri., Paris, 1868; *Schrader's* valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

¹ See *Rödiger* in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., *Stoddard's* Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, *Nöldeke's* Gramm. der neuassyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

² For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see *Gesenius* in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his Thes. Ling. Hebrææ; *Schwarze* in his Altes Aegypten and in *Bunsen's* Aegypten, I., S. 520 ff.; *Ewald* in Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen., Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; *Birch* in the new ed. of *Bunsen's* Egypt., Vol. II; *Brugsch's* Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds (*a, i, u*), and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a more simple indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms (*suffixa*): *f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots¹ are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating² natural sounds (*onomatopoeica*), partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.³

As examples of *onomatopoeic* stems, imitating² the same natural

¹ See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—*Tr.*

² Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or *onomatopoeic*) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under כח, חח, חח, חח.—*Tr.*

³ The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Raumer*, *Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: לָקַץ, לִקַּץ, λεῖχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, F. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim* = Welsh *lhyvi*¹; לָלַךְ (kindr. לָלַךְ אֶתְּךָ), λέλλω, ἀλλω, συλλω, *solvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well*; בָּרַךְ, בָּרַח, χαράττω, Pers. *kharīdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi*; פָּרַץ *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *briwo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together*; e. g. in Heb. אִתָּם (hence אִתָּם people, prop. assemblage), יַחַם *together-with*, אִתָּם (hence אִתָּם also), Arab. وَجَدَ *to collect*, Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amā* (*with*), Gr. ἄμα (ἄμφω), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὁμιλος, ὁμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam*. सून, ξून, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *sammt*, *sammeln*: though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יְאֹר (Egypt, *ior*, *iero*, *iaro*) river, Nile; אֶרֶב (Egypt. *ake*, *achi*) Nile-grass; פֶּרֶה (Pers. = παράδεισος) pleasure-garden, park; דָּרִיכֹן, דָּרִיכֹן *daric*, Persian gold-coin; תְּקֵיִים from the Indian (Tamil) *togāi*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as קֶרֶס (Sans. *kapi*) ape, ἀῖπος, ἀῖβος; קָרְפֹּס (Sans. *karpāsa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus*.

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. γίγ byσσος, *byssus*; לִבְנָן לִבְנָנֹת (frankincense); קָנָה, קָנָה, קָנָה, קָנָה, *canna*, *cane*; קָמִין, קָמִין, *cuminum*, *cumin*; מִרְרָה, מִרְרָה, *myrrha*, *myrrh*; קָסְיָה, קָסְיָה, *cassia*; גִּמְלָה, גִּמְלָה, *camelus*, *camel*; אֶרְרָבֹן, אֶרְרָבֹן, *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phœnicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the*

Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families *do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other*.

¹ That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton); Gaelic, Erse; and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. *Pritchard* in his *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, and by *Pictet* in his *Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; see also the *Grammatica Celtica* of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's* *Archæologia Britannica*.—Tr.

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left¹.—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest copy, among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in the *Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia* (Lipsiæ, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüé's* tables in Vol. XI of the *Revue Archéol.* (Paris 1865) and his *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde*. Tom I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1877).

¹ The Himyaritic writing runs usually from right to left, but at times also from left to right, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rödiger* in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenll.*, Bd. I, S. 382 ff. and his *Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien*, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right, but this was borrowed from a people not Semitic.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Hebrew*, in the earlier parts of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (in the book of Ezra); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type; and which of them has come to us, in an earlier phase of its developement. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.¹

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

¹ Among the Bedawin of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, Append. VII; his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 211; *Wallin* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Weissstein* in the same *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies; while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramæan, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T.* (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869).—Also *American Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, *Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques*, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1864. *Th. Nöldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebräische" in *Schenkel's* *Bibelllex.* Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in *Hertzog's* *Realencyclopädie*.

1. The *Hebrew Language*, as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (לשון עברית, γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and יְהוּדִית *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew*, *Jewish*, was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (עֲבֵרִים, Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebræi*) and *Israelites* (יִשְׂרָאֵלִי, Ἰσραηλῖται), are thus distinguished; the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 3, 7; 3, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's* Hebr. Lexicon, under עֲבֵרִי). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g. in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellative it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from עֲבֵר *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable י- (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons (posterity) of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστί, John 5, 2, 19, 13, 17, 20; ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramæan) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Chaldee versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Chaldee vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibō'n (now Dibā'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

Mēshā' (at the beginning of the 9th century B. C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4—27), and his various enterprises and achievements;¹—2) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;²—3) Coins of the Maccabean prince *Simon* (140 B. C.) and of his successors.³

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the O. Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of developement, as to its general character, and irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language; and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic⁴ or Phœnician came

¹ This unique Memorial Stone (often called the Moabite Stone) was first seen on the spot by the German Missionary *H. A. Klein*, but was afterwards so broken into fragments by the Arabs, living thereabout, that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made out: see *Ch. Clermont-Ganneau* (Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem), *La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab* (Paris, 1870), and his *La Stèle de Dhiban* (in the *Revue Archéol.* for March, 1870, p. 184 ff., with an improved copy); *Schlottmann's Sieges-Säule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870) and his Revision in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesell.*, Bd. XXIV (1870), S. 253 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff., Bd. XXV, 463 ff., *Nöldeke's Inschrift des Königs Mesa* (Kiel, 1870); and other treatises by *Derenbourg*, *Harkavy*, *Geiger*, *Hitzig*, *W. Wright* (in the North British Review for Oct. 1870), *Deutsch*, *Renan*, *Neubauer*, *Frankel*, *Kaempf*, and *Ginsburg*; see also Reports of the Palestine Exploration-Fund, London. This society has published photographs of the stone. The two largest fragments of it are deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

² See *Böddiger* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd. III (1849), pp. 243 and 347; *De Vogüé*, *Mélanges d'Archéol. Orientale* (Paris, 1868, p. 131—140); *M. A. Levy's Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau (1869), pp. 33 ff.

³ See *Franz Perez Bayer*, *De Numis Heb.-Samaritanis* (1781, 4to) and his *Vindiciæ*, 1790, 4to; *De Saulcy*, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judæique* (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's Geschichte der Jüd. Münzen* (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864; also *Schürer's Lehrb. der neuest. Zeitgesch.* (Leipz. 1874).

⁴ מִשְׁתָּה, מִשְׁתָּה is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. *פְּלִיזְזָן*, *פְּלִיזְזָן*, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his *Monumenta Phœnicia*, *Judas*, *Bourgade*, *Davis*, *De Vogüé*, *P. Schröder*, *von Malzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmúnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *De Luynes* in his *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schlottmann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kämpf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and a coherent piece of text in *Plautus* (*Pœnulus* 5, 1, 2). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אל god, אדם man, בן son, בת daughter, מלך king, עבד servant, כהן priest, זבח sacrifice, בעל lord, שמש sun, ארץ land, ים sea, כסף silver, ברזל iron, עת time, קבר grave, מצבה pillar, מקום place, משכב bed, כל all, אחד one, שלש three, חמש five, שש six, שבע seven, עשר ten, שמע to hear, פתח to open, נדר to vow, ברכך to bless, בך to seek, &c. Proper names: צידן Sidon, צר Tyre, חנא Hanno, חנניאל Hannibal, &c. Comp. *M. A. Levy's* Phön. Wörterbuch, Breslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as ברה for בירה house, קל for קול voice, צדן for צידון; כהנים for כהנא priests, אלנים (alonim in *Plautus*) gods; the feminine ending in ת (ath) as well as in ת (ê), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced i as u, e. g. שופט *sūfēt* (judge), שלש *salū's* (three), ראש *rūs* = ראש (head); for i and e, it often has the obscure, dull sound y, e. g. *ymymnu* (ecce eum), ית (יתר) *yth*; and takes the o as o, e. g. מוצר *Mocar* (comp. מוצר, *LXX* Μωρά). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, *Monum. Phœn.* p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in *Art. Phönizien* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24, S. 434 ff.*, *Paul Schröder* in his *Phönizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönici. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades* (in the "Morgenländ. Forschungen" Leipzig, 1875).

coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כנען on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves so.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the letter changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods*: the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age*; and the second, or *silver age*, after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Nahum, Obadiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun *אָנִי* *he* (but v. p. 100, N. 3), and the noun *אִלָּנָה* *lad*, are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. *בָּרַח* *to cry*, *צָחַק* *to laugh*, which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as *בָּרַח*, *צָחַק*.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramæan colouring of the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the author himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members*, but also by *words* and *significations of words*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions*, peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramæan, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramæan, enriched their native Hebrew.¹ The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette*, *Hupfeld*, *Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his *Dichter des alten Bundes*, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gesenius*, *Hebr. Lesebuch*, *Vorerinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung*; and *E. Meier*, *die Form der Hebr. Poesie* (Tübingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words*, occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: אָנֹשׁ *man*=אָדָם; אֶרֶץ *path*=דֶּרֶךְ; לָאוּ *to come*=בֹּא; מִלָּה *word*=דִּבְרִי; לִרְאוֹת *to see*=רָאוּ.

¹ That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramæan is clear from 2 Kings 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11).

To the *poetic significations* of words belongs the use of certain *epithets* for substantives: e. g. אֱלֹהִים *strong* (one), for God; אֶבֶר *strong* (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה *alba*, for *luna*; יְחִידָה *unica* or *solitaria*, for *anima, vita*.

Of *poetic forms*, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as עַל-עָלַי, אֶל-אֶלַי, מִן-מִנִּי; the endings יָ, וּ, in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes מוֹ, מִן, מִן, for מ, מן, מִן (§ 58); the plural-ending יָ for יָם (§ 87, 1, a).

To the *poetic peculiarities* in *syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle אֶת; the construct state before a preposition (§ 116); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 128, 2. Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Aramæan (Chaldee); to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words* (Aramaisms), for which the earlier writers employ others, are זמן=רצ *time*, לקח=לָקַח *to take*, סוף=סָפַר *end*, שָׁלַט=שָׁלַח *to rule*, חָזַק=חָזַק *to be strong*.—Of later *significations*, אָמַר (to say) *to command*, אָנַח (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—Grammatical peculiarities are:—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* ו and י, e. g. הָיִיד (elsewhere הָיִיד), even קוֹשֶׁשׁ for קוֹשֶׁשׁ, רִיב for רִיב; the interchange of ו and א final; the more frequent use of substantives in י, י, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely ש instead of שָׁר (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only two explicit examples are found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced ש as ש or ס; and in Neh. 13, 23, 24, where an Ashdod (Philistine) dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(cf. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or Targûms (תרגומין i. e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Talmû'd*; the first portion of which (the *Mishná'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gēmārd'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem.*) written at the close of the third, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the fifth and the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the Talmûd and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpunctuated text of the Old Testament, after the pronunciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôrâ'* (מסורה *tradition*), from which the manuscript copies of the present Textus Receptus of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text*, have ever since been uniformly derived.

One of the oldest and most important portions of the *Massôrâ'* are the various readings of the *Qeri* (§ 17). The punctuation of the text, moreover, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the *Massôrâ'*. The punctuation was settled at an earlier date, and is the fruit of a much more thorough labour than the *Massôrâ'*, which was finished at a considerably later date.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs. The earliest attempts, by Rabbi *Saadia* († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only *Saadia's* Arabic explanation of O. T. *hapax legomena* having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyûg* (called also *Abû-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona* (*Abû-'l-Walid Marwân ibn Ganâch*) about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labours, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* († ab. 1232), especially won for themselves a classic reputation as grammarians.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm *פעל* (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as *פעל*, *פעל*, and the like.¹

The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labours of *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

The value of the subsequent labours,² that have any en-

¹ On the oldest Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, see *Gesenius's* Preface, &c (as above, p. 8); *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.; *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus; and *Munk*, notice sur Abou'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X^e et du XI^e siècle in *Journal asiatique*, 1850; *Neubauer*, Notice sur la Lexicographie hébreu, in *Journal asiatique*, 1861—63; *Böttcher*, Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache, Introd. to Vol. I (ed. *Mühlau*, Leipsic 1866).

² The complete literature of this subject, down to 1850, is found in *M. Stein-schneider's* Bibliograph. Handbuch für Heb. Sprachkunde, Leipzig, 1859.— Fuller and newer works on Heb. Grammar are *W. Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache (Leipzig, 1817), *Isaak Nordheimer's* Critical Gram. of the Heb. Language, 2 vols. N. York, 1841, 8, *H. Ewald's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache (8th ed. Göttingen, 1870), *Justus Olshausen's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache

during scientific merit, must be estimated by comparison with what is required in elaborating the grammar of an ancient language, viz.—1) that all the phenomena of the language shall be fully and accurately *observed*, and *exhibited* in their **organic connection** (the empirical and historico-critical element);—2) that these facts shall be *explained*, partly by comparison with one another and with the analogy of the sister tongues, and partly from the general philosophy of language (the philosophical, scientific element).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs*, and their connection in *syllables*, 2) *words*, and 3) *sentences*.

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds*, and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (orthoëpy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech*, and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words*, or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection*, i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

(Braunschweig, 1861), from which may be dated the new era of Hebrew philology in which the attempt has been made to trace back existing forms to the supposed original Semitic, which have been preserved essentially in the old Arabic, *F. Böttcher's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Ferdinand Mühlau* (Leipzig, 1866—68, in 2 vols. 8vo).

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or *syntax* in the stricter sense).

PART FIRST.

OF THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing*, as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mêsha' and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramæan style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,¹ the Nabatæan,² and especially the Palmyrene.³ One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.⁴

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),⁵ ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, terminate (with the exception of ם) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

¹ Specially one Inscription (the Stone of Carpentras, so called because kept in that city of Provence) and some Papyrus-Fragments, see *Ed. F. Ferd. Beer's* *Inscriptiones et Papyri in Ægypto reperti*, Lips. 1833, 4to; *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 226 seq. See our Ancient Alphabet Table.

² See p. 2, Note 3.

³ See *M. A. Levy* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd. XVIII. S. 65 ff.; *De Vogüé*, *Syrie Centrale*, Paris (1868), fol. p. 1—88 and Tab. 1—12.

⁴ *De Vogüé*, in *Revue Archéol.* IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2, comp. *Nöldeke* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.* Bd. XIX, S. 640, and *Mercx's Archiv* I, S. 361; also *Chwolson's* *Heb. Grabschriften aus der Krim*, Petersburg, 1865. Comp. Table of Anc. Alphabets.

⁵ These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as קִנְיָנִים. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too קִנְיָנִים (p. 24), and other *mnemonic* words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also אִתְּיָי (§ 7, 2, Note 3) for vowel letters and the memorial words מִשְׁרֵי אִתְּיָי to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which אִתְּיָי are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; רִנְיָי to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* אִתְּיָי for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of פְּסַלְמִים (Psalms), מִשְׁלֵי (Proverbs) and אִיּוֹב (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Form	Pronunciation.	Hebrew name.	Sounded as ¹	Signification of the name.	Numerical value.
Final	א	אֵלֶּה	' <i>Ā-lēph</i>	Ox	1
	ב, bh	בֵּית	<i>Bēth</i>	House	2
	ג, gh	גִּמְלָה	<i>Gī-mēl</i>	Camel	3
	ד, dh	דֹּלָת	<i>Dā'-lēth</i>	Door	4
	ה	חַלּוֹן	<i>Hē</i>	Vent-hole, window	5
	ו ²	חֹךְ	<i>Wāw</i>	Hook	6
	ז	זֶיֶן	<i>Zā'-yīn</i>	Weapon	7
	ח	חֵטֶה	<i>Chēth</i>	Fence or barrier	8
	ט	טֵת	<i>Ṭēth</i>	Snake (winding)	9
	י	יָד	<i>Yōdh</i>	Hand	10
	כ, kh	כַּף	<i>Kāph</i>	Bent-hand	20
	ל	לֶמֶד	<i>Lā-mēdh</i>	Ox-goad	30
	מ	מַם	<i>Mēm</i>	Water	40
	נ	נֹךְ	<i>Nūn</i>	Fish	50
	ס	סָמֶךְ	<i>Sā'-mēkh</i>	Prop	60
	ע	עֵיִן	' <i>Ā'-yīn</i>	Eye	70
	פ, ph	פֶּה	<i>Pē</i>	Mouth	80
	צ or ss	צִדִּי	<i>Ṣā-dhé'</i>	Fish-hook	90
	ק ³	קוֹף	<i>Qōph</i>	Back of the head	100
	ר	רֶשֶׁת	<i>Rēsh</i>	Head	200
	ש	שֵׁן	<i>Sīn</i>	} Tooth	} 300
	sh	שֵׁין	<i>Shīn</i>		
	ת, th	תָּו	<i>Tāw</i>	Sign or cross	400

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

¹ For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters א and פ have no sound; and the *g* for ג is always *hard* as in *give*; the *ch*, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek χ.—Tr.

² As in Arabic, or as the English *w*, not as the German.

³ The latin *q* serves well for the Semitic פ (Greek κόπτα), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatables*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

ו, ה, ל, ה, נ (אחלקם).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate; e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand*—י *yādh*, but as a letter only the initial י (*y*); '*Āyīn* (prop. *eye*), יי, stands only for י, the initial letter. In the Phœnician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in י, ז, ט, כ, ל, פ, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, כ ט ז, ב ג, ד ו פ, ה ו ז, ח ט י, ק ר ש, ט ז, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—*Tr.*

The most probable signification of the *names* of the letters is given in the Alphabet Table, p. 23.

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms; for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object; e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t*; the lion, *laboi*, the letter *l*.

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; Lam. 1—4; Prov. 31, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a grammatical consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. כ, ג, ד, also of the three liquids, ל, מ, נ, and other similar arrangements; but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kāph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mēm* and *Nūn*, '*Āyīn* and *Pē*).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phœnician into the Greek, in which the

¹ See the works of Young, Champollion, Lepsius and others on the Hieroglyphics. Comp. *Hitzig*, die Erfindung des Alphabets, Zürich, 1840. 4to. *J. Olshausen*, über den Ursprung des Alphabets, Kiel, 1841. 3vo. *F. Böttcher*, unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge, Dresden, 1860. 8vo. *Ed. Böhmer*, das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, S. 579 ff.

letters, form *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp. *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers¹. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from א to ט, the *tens* by י—צ, the *hundreds* from 100 to 400 by פ—ר, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, ד 500, ה 600, ו 700, ז 800, ח 900; and sometimes by ר=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as רק 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as יא 11, קכא 121. Fifteen however is marked by טו=9+6, and not by יו, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by טז not by יז, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as א̇ for 1000.²

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as יע̇ for יעקב, מ̇ for מלך *aliquis*, וג̇ for וגו' *et complens=et cætera*, but also יי̇ or יי̇ for יהוה.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

¹ Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in *Schröder's Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

² The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (לְקַרְנֵי עָרִיל) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (לְקַרְנֵי קָטָן) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. א, פ, ש, ז, פ, ש (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargès*, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, Manuel du Lecture etc. Paris 1871.

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require special attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, א is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, which stands for it in our Alphabet Table, p. 23; similar to ה, but weaker. Even before a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (אָרָא, ἀρά, *amā'r*), like the *h* in the French *habit*, *homme*, Eng. *hour*, but after a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (מָאָרָא *māgā'*, § 23, 1; however comp. מָאָרָא).

ה before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritus asper*); also after a vowel at the end of a syllable, it is a guttural-breathing (נֶחֱ-פָאֵה *nēh-pā'kh*); but at the end of a word it only represents a vowel, so that its force as a consonant is not at all heard (גָּאֵלָה *gā-lā'*); see § 7, 2 and § 14, § 75, 1.

פ is related to א but stronger; and is a sound peculiar to the organs

¹ Important aid may also be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. See *Liskovius' Theorie der Stimme*, Leipzig, 1814, *J. Müller's Handbuch der Physiologie*, Bd. II., S. 179 &c., *Strodtmann's Anatomische Vorhalle zur Physiologie der Stimme und der Sprachlaute*, Altona, 1837, also *H. Hupfeld in Jahn's Jahrbücher f. Philologie*, 1829, H. 4, *H. E. Bindseil's Abhandlungen zur allgem. vergleichenden Sprachlehre* (Hamb. 1838), *E. Brücke's Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute*, Wien, 1856, *C. L. Merkel's Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1866.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as חָגַג, LXX Γάλα, חָגַג Γάμοδος; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in חָלַל 'חָלַל, חָלַל 'Αμαλέξ. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over צ, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. צִיִּי *Eli*, צִיִּי *Amalek*), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or **g*; but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ' , as צִיִּי 'arbā', צִיִּי 'amôrā'.

ך is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*¹ (not as in *licht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.²

ך also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l, m, n, r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem. 2. In *sibilant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramean and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see י, ז, ש in Lex.).

ש and ש were originally one letter ש, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into ש *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and ש *s*.

ש accordingly was closely allied to ש in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than ש. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as שָׁרַר *to close up* and שָׁרַר *to hire*, שָׁרַר *to be foolish* and שָׁרַר *to be wise*. The Syrians employed only ש for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as שָׁרַר = שָׁרַר *to hire* Ezr. 4, 5; שָׁרַר for שָׁרַר *folly* Eccl. 1, 17.³

ז is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

¹ As also in the Keltic dialects.—Tr.

² In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of ש and כ (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of י, ו, ז), are indicated by diacritic points. Two letters are thus made from each: from ש the softer ע *Ein*, and the harder ע **Gain*; from כ the softer ח *Cha*, and the harder ח *Kha*.

³ But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce ש as ש.

Rem. 3. The **ז** is, like **פ** and **צ**, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from **כ** and **ק**, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The **ז** has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *hiss!* sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but **ף** is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutes*,

ח, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב (בְּנִדְכָּמֶת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation¹:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenuis*) as *b, g, d, k, p, t*, and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghēsh lenē*, § 13), as in **ב** *b*, **ג** *g*, **ד** *d*, **כ** *k*, **פ** *p*, **ת** *t*. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphē* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghēsh*. In some of these letters (especially **ג**), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly **β**, **γ**, **δ**, and the Danes *d* at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as **כ** *κ*, **כ** *χ*; **פ** *π*, **פ** *φ*; **ד**, **ת** *θ*.

For the cases in which the one pronunciation or the other occurs, see more fully in § 21.—The modern Jews sound the aspirated **ב** as *v*, and the **ר** nearly as *s*, e. g. **רב** *rāv*, **רֶשֶׁת** *rēshē's*.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals **ח, ה, ע, א**,

(אֶחָד);

b) Palatals, **ק, כ, ג, י**,

(שְׁלֹשָׁה);

¹ Sound **ח** as *t*, **ר** as *th* in *thick*; **ד** as *d*, **ד** *dh* as *th* in *that*, Anglo-Sax. *ð*; **ב** as *p*, **ב** as *ph* or *f*; **כ** as *b*, **כ** *bh* as *v*; **ג** and **ג** as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen*; **כ** and **כ** as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of **ג** and **כ**, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—*Tr.*

- c) Linguals, א, ה, ו, with ג, ל, (דִּשְׁלֵחַ);
 d) Dentals or sibilants, ז, ש (שׁ and שׂ), ט, צ, (זִסְצִשׁ);
 e) Labials, פ, ב, מ, ר, (בְּרִיחַ).

The letter ר appertains partly to the first and to the third class, as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.¹

Also the liquids (ל, נ, מ, ר), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

	Mutes			Liquids			Sibilants			Aspirates			
	s.	m.	e.	vibr.	nasal	sensiv.	s.	m.	e.	s.	m.	h.	e.
Gutturals				[א]									א [ע] ה ח ע
Palatals	ג	כ	ק			י							
Linguals				ל		נ	ז	ש	ס	צ			
Dentals	ד	ת	ט										
Labials	ב	פ				מ	ר						

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: s=soft; m=medium; h=hard; e=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. ג and כ as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. מ and נ as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneity. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. ד=ז, ת=שׁ, ט=צ). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

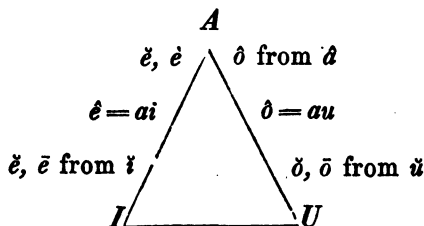
¹ Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the ר, *Delitzsch*, *Physiol. u. Musik* p. 10 ff.

This appears partly in the preference for the softer letters; e. g. פֶּזֶז, פֶּזֶזִי (see § 2, 5, Rem.), Syr. ܦܙܙܐ; partly in the pronunciation of particular letters; thus the stronger פֶּ 'g, known even in the LXX (see above in No. 2, Rem. 1), is lost in later times; the Samaritans and Galileans utter it, as well as פֶּ, only like כֶּ; in Ethiopic too פֶּ sounds as *h*, פֶּ as *k*, וֶ as *a*.

§ 7.

OF THE VOWELS IN GENERAL, VOWEL-LETTERS, AND VOWEL-SIGNS.

1. That the scale of five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, proceeds from the three primary vowel sounds *A, I, U*, is even more distinctly seen in the Hebrew and the rest of the Semitic tongues, than in other languages. *E* and *O* are derived from a blending together or obscuring of the purer vowels, viz., short *ē* from *i* or even *ā*, short *ō* from *ū*; and also the long *ē* from the union of *I* with a preceding short *A*, i. e. from the diphthong *AI*, and the long *ō* partly from the obscuring of *ā*, partly from the combination *AU*, according to the following scheme:¹—



The more ancient Arabic still keeps the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, specially with stronger consonants; e. g. שׁוּׁי (shōt), Arab. *saut*; עֵנַיִם (ênaim), Arab. 'ainain. It is only in the later Arabic they become *ē* and *ō*, at least with feebler consonants, as בַּיִן, Arab. *bain*, *bên*; יוֹם, Arab. *yaum*, *yôm*. This contraction of the diphthongs is also sufficiently familiar in Greek and Latin (e. g. Καῖσαρ, Cæsar; θαῦμα, Ion. θῶμα; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au* (comp. in Eng. *ai* in *said*, and *au* in *naught*), in the Germanic languages (Goth. *auso*, *auris*, Old High-Ger. *ōra*, *ear*; Goth. *snaiws*, Old High-Ger. *snēo* = *Schnee* = *snow*), and even in the modern German vulgar dialect (*Oge* for *Auge*, Goth. *augō*, *eye*; *Steen* for *Stein*, *stone*, Goth. *stains*).

¹ For the sound of these vowels, see note on § 8.—*Tr.*

Obscuring of the vowel-sounds often occurs also in other tongues, e. g. *ä* in Swedish, in modern Persian, in Eng. *fall* etc. The modern Jews constantly obscure the sound of the Heb. long *Ā* (אָ), like the Swedish *ä*. But the Arabic of the Bedawin, in its pronunciation of the vowels, does not even now depart so much from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*, as the Arabic spoken in Syria and Egypt (see *Wallin* and *Wetzstein* as referred to above, p. 7, Note¹).

2. With this is connected the earlier and very sparing way of indicating the vowels in writing. Only the three principal vowels were thus distinguished; and even these were indicated not by peculiar signs, but by certain consonants employed for this purpose, whose feeble consonant sounds have naturally a close affinity with the vowel-sounds to be expressed.

Thus γ (like the Lat. V) represented U and also O .

“ (like the Lat. *J*) represented *I* and also *E*.

A, the purest of all the vowels, and the most frequent, was as a rule¹ not indicated at all, except at the end of a word, where the final *a* was represented by א in Hebrew, sometimes by א.² These two letters stood also for *e* and *o* final.³

Even those *two vowel-letters* (ṛ and ṡ) were used but sparingly, being at first, and as a rule, employed only when the sounds which they represent were *long*, and not always then (§ 8, 4).⁴ Everything else relating to the quantity of the

¹ So in Sanscrit, the ancient Persian cuneiform writing and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not indicated by any sign, but the bare consonant is pronounced with short *a*.

² The close connection between the aspirates Π , $\aleph$ and the A sound, $\imath$ (= υ) and the U sound, $\imath$ (= y) and the I sound, admits of easy physiological explanation, if we attend to the formation of these sounds by the organs of speech. The vowel A is formed by opening the mouth, without changing the position of the organs; so also Π and $\aleph$. U is sounded in the fore part of the mouth, with the lips a little projecting and rounded; so also $\imath$. The I is formed at the fore part of the palate; so also $\imath$. E is sounded at the back of the palate, between $\imath$ and α ; O in the under part of the mouth, between υ and α .

³ The four letters כ, ך, ם, ן (forming the mnemonic sign **כךמן** 'ehet) are commonly called *quiescent* or *feeble letters*.—Tr.

⁴ The Samaritan writing also has remained at the same stage.—The Phœnicians did not indicate even the long vowels, except in very rare cases.

vowel-sounds, and also the entire absence of a vowel, and even whether the vowel-letter in the particular case was a vowel or a consonant, the reader had to decide for himself.

Thus, for example, קָטַל might be read *qāṭāl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭōl*, *q'ṭōl*, *qōṭēl*, *qūṭēl*, *qāṭṭēl*, *qūṭṭāl*; דָּבָר, *dābhār* (word), *dā'bhēr* (pestilence), *dābbēr* (he has spoken), *dābbēr* (to speak), *dōbhēr* (speaking), *dābhūr* (spoken), *dūbbār* (it has been spoken); מָוֶת might be *mā'wēth* (death), or *mūth*, *mōth* (to die); בֵּין might be read *bin*, *bēn*, *bāyīn*.

How imperfect and indefinite such a mode of writing was, is easily seen; yet during the whole period in which the Hebrew was a living language, no other signs for vowels were employed. Reading was therefore a harder task than it is with our more adequate modes of writing, and the reader's knowledge of the living mother-tongue had to supply much.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, and the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalisation*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius*, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* S. 182 ff. and *Hupfeld* in *den theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmūd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger*, *Zur Nakdanim-Literatur* (*Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, S. 10 ff.); *Geiger*, *Massorah bei den Syrern* (*Ztschr. der D. M. G. Bd. XXVII. Leipz.*, 1878, S. 148 ff.); *H. Strack*, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr. Leipz.*, 1873; *Strack*, *Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes* (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1875, IV, S. 736 ff.)

4. This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

and their old monuments have scarcely any vowel signs (see *Gesenii Mon. Phœnicia*, pp. 57, 58; and above in § 2, 3).—The vowel-letters are quite as sparingly used in the old Heb. inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2), as early as 900 B. C.

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

OF THE VOWEL-SIGNS.¹

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned *ten*, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented:²—

¹ The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—*ā* or *ā* like *a* in *father*; *ā* like *a* in *fat*; *ā* like *æ*, or as *a* in *fate*; *ē* or *ē* like *e* in *there*; *ē* like *e* in *her*; *ī* or *ī* like *i* in *prize*; *ī* like *i* in *pick*; *ō* or *ō* like *o* in *no*; *ō* like *o* in *not*; *ū* or *ū* like *u* in *rule* (sounded as *rool*); *ū* like *u* in *full*; *ai* and *au* as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but *one* sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in *sō* and *sôt*.—Tr.

² It is founded on the 12th edition of the original, and Dr. Rödiger is not responsible for its insertion here.—Tr.

Long Vowels.	Short Vowels.
<i>Breaking</i> — <i>Qā'mēš</i> , ā, ā, קָם <i>qām</i> , יָם <i>yām</i> . — <i>Šērē</i> , ē, שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> . י (or —) <i>Chî'rēq</i> long, î, בִּין <i>bîn</i> , בִּין <i>gô-yîm</i> . י (or —) <i>Chō'lēn</i> , ô, ô, קוֹל <i>qôl</i> , סוֹב <i>sôbh</i> . י (or —) <i>Shû'rēq</i> , û, מוֹת <i>mûth</i> , מוֹת <i>mû-thî</i> .	<i>Opening</i> — <i>Pă'thăch</i> , ä, בַּת <i>băth</i> . <i>Grabe</i> — <i>S'ghô'l</i> , ě, é or ä, מַלְלָה <i>mă-lĕkh</i> . — <i>Chî'rēq</i> short, î, מִן <i>mîn</i> . — <i>Qā'mēš-chā'ûph</i> , ô, חֹק <i>chôq</i> . <i>Low position</i> — <i>Qîbbû's</i> , ü, שׁוּלְחָן <i>shul-chā'n</i> .

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A sound.

1. — *Qā'mēš*, ā, ā, יָד *yād* (hand), קָם *qām* (he arose).
2. — *Pă'thăch*, ä, ä, בַּת *băth* (daughter).
3. — *S'ghô'l*, ě, é (ä), a modification of *a*,² as in the first syllable of יְדֵיךָ *yědhē-khēm* (your hand) from *yădhē-khēm*, פֶּסַח *pēsăch* (πάσχα); also in union with י as יְדֵיךָ *yā-dhē-khā* (thy hands), גְּלִיכָה *g'le-nā*, like the French *é* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there*. Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men*; Ger. *mann* into *männer*; W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig*.

Second Class. For the I and E sound.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I | 1. — and — long <i>Chî'rēq</i> , î, יְדֵיךָ <i>šăd-dî-qîm</i> (just ones).
2. — short <i>Chî'rēq</i> , î, אם <i>im</i> (if). |
| | 3. — <i>Šērē</i> with <i>Yôdh</i> , ě, and — <i>Šērē</i> without <i>Yôdh</i> , ě, as in בֵּית <i>bêth</i> (house), שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> (name). Very rarely the — (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for ě. |
| E | 4. — <i>S'ghô'l</i> , ě, as in שֵׁן <i>shên</i> (tooth), where it has proceeded from <i>i</i> ; but ě in the tone syllable, חֵץ <i>chîpsh</i> (Grdf. <i>chîpsh</i>). |

¹ The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., ā, ě, ô for the essentially long-vowels, ā, ē, ô for the merely tone-long, ä, ě, ô for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of î and ě, ô and ü is sufficient.

² So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *S'ghô'l* also *small Pă'thăch* (פְּתַח קטן).

³ The sign — marks in this Grammar the accented syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in מֶסֶח. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U and O sound.

- U { 1. $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *Shû'rêq*, $\dot{\text{א}}$, מוֹת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for $\ddot{\text{א}}$.
 2. — $\dot{\text{ק}}$ *Qibbû's*, $\ddot{\text{א}}$, סֹלֶם *sûl-lâ'm* (ladder), but also $\dot{\text{א}}$, written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of *Shû'rêq*, מוֹתִי *mû-thî* (my dying).
- O { 3. $\dot{\text{י}}$ and — *Chô'lêm*, $\dot{\text{א}}$, $\dot{\text{ו}}$, קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רַב *rôbh* (multitude). Often defective — for $\dot{\text{א}}$, seldomer $\dot{\text{י}}$ for $\dot{\text{א}}$.
 4. — $\dot{\text{א}}$ *Qâ'mêṣ-châ'û'ph*, $\dot{\text{א}}$, חֹק *chôq* (statute).
5. also —, obtuse $\dot{\text{ע}}$, so far as it is changed from *u* or *o*, as in אַתָּם *'attê'm* (ye) from *'attû'm* (see § 27, Rem. 4, b), אֶת *'êth* (from אֶתָּה).

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פֶּתַח signifies *opening*, פֶּצִיץ (also פֶּצִיץ) *bursting* (of the mouth), חִירָק *gnashing*, מְלֵא *fulness*, from its full tone (also מְלֵא *full mouth*), שָׁטִיף properly *supisimóc*, קָפֵץ *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to קָפֵץ; and the reason why long *a* and short *o* (קָפֵץ *Qâ'mêṣ correptum*) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long *a* rather obscurely, and somewhat like *o*, as it then passed over to a full *o* with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac *â* with the Maronites= $\dot{\text{א}}$, the Swedish *ä*, and the early change of *â* into *ô* even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).¹ The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But *Sûghô'l* (סֻגְּהוֹל *bunch of grapes*) appears to be named after its *form*; so too some call *Qibbûṣ* (קִבְּבוּץ *three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write *Sûghô'l*, *Qâ'mêṣ-châ'û'ph*, *Qibbû's*.

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *râ*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *ră*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *rē*, $\dot{\text{ר}}$ *rû*, etc. There is an exception to this rule in *Pă'thăch*, when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (*Pă'thăch furtive*, see § 22, 2, b), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רִיחַ *rû'ch* (wind,

¹ It has been conjectured that the signs for these vowels originally differed (as $\dot{\text{א}}$, $\dot{\text{א}}$, $\dot{\text{א}}$), and became identical only through carelessness in writing; but such a difference cannot be proved, for these two marks are quite identical, the former ($\dot{\text{א}}$) being only the original, and the second ($\dot{\text{א}}$) the modified form.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*), which is put to the left *over* the letter, as in *ר* *rō*.¹

NB. When *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over *ש* (ש, ש) come together, one dot serves for both, as שש *sh-nē* (not שש) hating, שש *mō-shē* not שש. ש (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שש *shō-mēr* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in שש *yir-pō's* (he treads down), like שש, שש. Is. 45, 20 *han-nō-s'im* (the bearers), like שש, שש.

The figure *י* is sometimes sounded *ow*, the *י* being a consonant with *Chō'lem* before it, as יי *lō-wē* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lem* being read after the *Wāw*, as יי *'ā-wō'n* (sin) for יי. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: *י* *ōw*, *י* *wō*, and *י* *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of *י* in the middle, and of *י*, *י*, *י*

¹ Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except *י* are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, *Pathach* and *S'ghol*, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by *Daghesh forte* (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (שש) see *A. Harkavy* and *H. L. Strack's* "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg." Vol. I & II, Petersburg. & Leipzig. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by *H. Strack's* facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersb. 1876 fol.); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by *Firkowitsch* in 1839 in the synagogue of *Tschufutkale* in the peninsula of the Crimea. *Strack* has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersburg. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of *Habakkuk*) is given in *Pinner's* *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuscripte*, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by *Rödiger* in the *Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by *Ewald* in the *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by *Pinsker* in his *Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctuationssystem*, Wien, 1863; and *Olshausen* in the *Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch.* July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

י may be determined by *Chîrêq* (י־), *Şê're* (י־), *S'ghô'l* (י־).

י by *Shû'rêq* (י) and *Chô'lêm* (י).¹

In Arabic the long *â* is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter 'A'leph (آ), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew the relation is somewhat different (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קול and קים are written *fully*, קלור and קם *defectively*.

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *û*, *i*, *ê* as well as for *é* in וזר etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. קמלתי, קמלתי, קמלתי; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires וקרי for וקרי, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גוים for גוים *nations*, מצות for מצות *commands*,² עשרים for עשרים.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. וקמלתי Ezek. 16, 60, וקמלתי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have וקמלתי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

¹ The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, 'The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.' Hence the letters י and ו (with א and ו, see § 23) are called *litteræ quiescibiles*; when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes*, when they are consonants, *mobiles*. But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, 'The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.' The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis*, since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

² So also וקמלתי *testimonies* is for וקמלתי (plural of וקמלתי in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suf. as in וקמלתי 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies*.—Ty.

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as *צָרִים*, *צָרִים*; *קוֹל*, *קוֹל*; *קוֹל*, *קוֹל*;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual¹.

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a*, then a diphthong is formed, e. g. *אֹ* *au*, *אֵ*, *ai*. But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, *א* and *י* retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw*, *ay*,² e. g. *אֶרֶץ* *wāw* (hook), *חַיִּים* *chāy* (living), and so also *גּוֹי* *gōy* (nation), *עָשׂוּי* *āsūy* (made), *גֵּז* *gēw* (back). The sound of *יִ* is the same as *אֵ*, namely, *āw*, as in *דְּבָרָיו* *d'bhā-rā'w* (his words); therefore often *אֵ* defectively for *יִ*.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which *αὐ*, *εὐ* sound like *av*, *ev*. In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappiq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chāi*, *gēu*, and so also *bait* (*בַּיִת*).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

¹ The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when *ā* is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

² The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet*, not as in *now* and *nay*.—Tr.

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness*; but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. *First Class: A sound.*

1. *Qā'mēš* (—) is every where long *a*, but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *ā* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has آ —, as كَارِب *k'ithā'bh*¹ (writing), غَنَب *gān-nā'bh* (thief), قَام *qām* (he arose), very seldom written قَام .²

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ā*,³ and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. لَاك , قَاتَل , يَاسِر , أَسِير (in Arabic *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūm*, *'āsir*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as يَاد , كَاوَب (Arabic *yād*, *kauāb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,⁴ دָבָר , עוֹלָם , but in the open, it is especially frequent *before* the tone-syllable, as דָבָר , זָמֶן , גִּדּוֹל , קִטְלָנִי , לָכֶם . When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *a* (*Pā'thäch*), and in the latter, vocal *Sh'wā* (§ 27, 3), דָבָר , דִבֵר (*ābhā'r*); חָכֶם , חָכָם (*ch'khā'm*); קִטְלָם , קִטְלֵם .

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'mēš* may stand alone (קִטְלָה , לָה), but in this position it is also indicated by ו (קִטְלָהוּ , אִתָּהוּ , אִתָּהוּ). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pā'thäch*, or the short *ā*, stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (קִטְלָה , קִטְלָהֶם). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in נָחַל (original form *nachl*) and

¹ This long *ā* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *ē*, see No. 10, 2 on p. 42.

² Of another sort are the cases in which آ has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

³ In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

⁴ When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — is usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—*Tr.*

בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *a* in an open syllable is else generally changed into $\bar{a}$ (—); comp. above in No. 1, *b*.

On the rare union of Pă'thäch with נ (נ—), see § 23, 2; on $\check{a}$ as a helping-sound (*Pă'thäch furtive*), see § 22, 2, *b* and § 28, 4.

3. *S'ghô'l* ($\check{e}$, $\acute{e}$ or $\check{a}$) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of *a* (as in the Ger. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. יָדְכֶם (for יָדְכֶם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. קָרְן from קָרְן (Arabic *qārṇ*), קָמַח (Arab. *qāmch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בָּרַח, or with a final ה as in מָרָא (Arab. *mar'a*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause*, § 29, 4), as in מָלַךְ, צָדִיק, though it then becomes $\bar{a}$ in other words of this form, as in קָמַח, קָרְן. *S'ghô'l*, which seems to be lengthened from *sh'wā* but which in fact comes likewise from an original $\check{a}$, stands in pausal forms, as פָּרִי (groundform *pāri*), יָחִי (*yāhi*) etc.

II. Second Class: I and E sound.

4. The long *Chîrêq*, $\hat{i}$, is most commonly expressed by the letter י (a fully written *Chîrêq* י—); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צָדִיק *just*, plur. צָדִיקִים (*šād-di-qīm*); יִירָא *he fears*, plur. יִירָאוּ *they fear*. Whether a defectively written *Chîrêq* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Méthègh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יִירָאוּ (*yi-r'û*).

5. The short *Chîrêq* (never written with י) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (אָמַר, קָטַל),¹ and in closed unaccented syllables (לָקַט). It often comes from a shortening of *a*, as in בָּתִּי (*my daughter*) from בַּת, דָּבָר from דָּבַר, יָקַט out of יָקַט; or it is an original $\hat{i}$, lengthened by the tone to

¹ For this sharp $\hat{i}$ the LXX mostly use ε, ἰσχυρῶς, ἰσχυρῶς.

$\bar{e}$, as in אֵיבָה (*thy foe*) from אֵיב (orig. 'Ayibh). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בִּירוֹ for בִּירָו (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully* written Chirêq, *Chirêq magnum*, and every *defectively* written one, *Chirêq parvum*; but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest $\bar{e}$, *Šêrê* with Yôdh (יֶ—), is a blended sound of the diphthong *ai* יֶ— (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as פַּלַּאס (palace), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than יֶ—, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This יֶ— is but very seldom written defectively (עֲיֶרִי for עֵיֶרִי Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, יֶ— and יֶ— must be written fully. In the form קִטְלָה (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading קִטְלָה, called the *Qirâ* (§ 17).

7. The *Šêrê* without Yôdh is the long $\bar{e}$ of the second rank, always lengthened from a short $\bar{e}$, and it stands only *in* and *close by* the tone-syllable, like the $\bar{a}$ above (p. 39) in No. 1, *b*. It stands in an open syllable *with* or *before* the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (Arab. *sīphr*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *šināt*) *sleep*; in a closed syllable only *with* the tone, as in בֶּן *son*, אֵלֶם *dumb*.

8. The *S'ghôl*, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse $\bar{e}$, a shortening of the tone-long —, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Mäqqēph*), as מֵתָ from מֵת (give), יֹצֵר from יָצַר (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גַּרְזֵן (Arab. *kärzin*) *an axe*, אֶחָרָה (fem. of אָחָר), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה *chô-zé* (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in סֵפֶר for סֵפֶר, יָגֵל for יָגֵל (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of *S'ghôl* out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. Third Class: U and O sound.

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long u*, whether *a*) fully written as *Shūrêq* שׁ (answering to the יֶ— of the second class), e. g. גְּבֻל (*border*), or *b*) defectively written (analogous to the long — of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbū's* (—); viz., that which stands for Shû'rêq, and should more properly be called *defective Shû'rêq* (שְׁוֹרֵק, שְׁוֹרֵק), being in fact a long vowel like Shû'rêq, and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The short ū, the proper *Qibbū's* (analogous to the short *Chî'rêq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), סֵבָה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put ο, e. g. Ὀδολλάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express *Chî'rêq* by ε, as Ἑμμαουήλ for עֲמַמְאוּיָל. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbū's* the sound ū, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *būlbūl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dūnjā* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short ū in a sharpened syllable is expressed by ו, e. g. וִיזֵר = וִיזֵר (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Delitzsch* Com. Ps. 31. 3).

10. The O sound stands in the same relation to U, as E to I in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest ô, sprung from the diphthong au (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full ו (Chô'lēm plenum), שׁוֹט (*a whip*, Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עוֹלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שֶׁהָ (*thy bullock*), from שׁוֹר;

2) The long ô, which has sprung from an original ā (comp. Germ. *alt* = Eng. *old*), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קֹטֵל (Arab. *qāṭil* and Aram. *qāṭēl*); אֱלֹהִים (*god*), Arab. 'ilāh, and Aram. 'ēlāh, pl. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sāq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *khātām*; רֶמֶז (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; שְׁלֵטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלֵטָן, Arab. *sūltān*; שְׁלֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שְׁרֵק and שְׁרִיק (*coat of mail*); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long ô, which is lengthened by the tone from an original short o or u, and which becomes short again on its removal, as כָּל (*all*), כֹּל (*köl*), כֻּלָּם (*kül-lām*), יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹלָה, יִקְטֹלָה (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal Sh'wâ, *yiq-ṭlû*, Arab. *yâq-tūlû*). In this case the Chô'lēm is *fully* written only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'mēṣ-chāṭū'ph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lēm* as the *S'ghō'l* of the second class to the *Sē'rē*, כֹּל *kōl*, נָאֵי *nāy-yā'-qōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'mēṣ*, see below in this section.

11. The *S'ghō'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in מִן *mīn*, מִן *mīn*. See § 27, Rem. 4, *b*.
On the *half-vowels*, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

First Class: A.	Second Class: I and E.	Third Class: U and O.
— longest <i>ā</i> (Arabic אָ).	— ē diphthongal (from <i>ai</i>).	ī ō diphthongal (from <i>aw</i>).
	— ē (from <i>ai</i>).	ī or ō changed from <i>ā</i> .
	— or — long <i>i</i> .	ī or — long <i>ū</i> .
— tone-long <i>ā</i> (from short <i>ā</i> or —) in and by the tone-syllable.	— tone-long <i>ē</i> (from — <i>i</i> or — <i>e</i>) in and immediately before the tone-syllable.	— tone-long <i>ō</i> (from — <i>o</i> or —) in the tone-syllable.
— short <i>ā</i> .	— short <i>i</i> .	— short <i>ū</i> , specially in a sharpened syllable.
— partly tone-long <i>ē</i> , partly short <i>ē</i> , — <i>i</i> attenuated from <i>ā</i> .	— <i>ē</i> , accented <i>e</i> .	— short <i>ō</i> .
Greatest shortening to — ^a — ^e or — ^e , also to — ^a — ^e .	Greatest shortening to — ^a — ^e .	Greatest shortening to — ^a — ^e .

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MĒṢ AND QĀ'MĒṢ-CHĀTŪPH.¹

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long *ā* (*Qā'-mēṣ*) and the short *ō* (*Qā'-mēṣ-chāṭū'ph*) are both represented by the same sign (—), e. g. קָאֵם *qām*, כֹּל *kōl*.² The beginner who has as yet no

¹ This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on *Méthēgh* in § 16, 2.

² For the cause of this, see Note ¹ on p. 85; but cf. *Ber-Del.* Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz.—

1. The sign (—) is *ö* in a closed syllable which has not the tone (or accent); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When simple *Sh'wā*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 3), follows, as in חֶכְמָה *chōkh-mā* (wisdom), אֹכֶל־לֶאֱ *'ōkh-lā* (food); with a *Methēgh* on the contrary, the (—) is *ā* and closes the syllable, and then the following *Sh'wā* is a half-vowel (vocal *Sh'wā*), as in אֵלֶּהָ *ā-kh'lā* (she ate), according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghēsh forte* follows, as in חֶסֶן־נֶנִי *chōn-nē-ni* (pity me); also בְּתִיִּם *bōtī'm* (houses), בְּתִיִּם *bōt-tē-khēm*, though the *Methēgh* (§ 16, 2) makes others pronounce these words better with *ā*, as *bāt-tī'm*.

c) When *Māqqēph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כָּל־אָדָם *kōl-hā-'ādhā'm* (all men).

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וָגֵץ *wāy-yā'qōm* (and he stood up).—There are some cases where *ā* in the final syllable loses its tone by *Māqqēph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. כְּתָב־הַיְּהוָה *Est. 4, 8*, שְׁדֵי־יְיָ *Gen. 4, 25, 16*, מְנַר־הַלֵּל *Ps. 16, 5*. In such cases the *Methēgh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (—).

In cases like לָמָּה *lā'mma*, where the (—) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is *ā*, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (—) as short *ö* in an open syllable is less frequent. It occurs:—a) when *Chāṭēph-Qā'mēš* follows, as פְּעֻלָּתוֹ *pō-'lō'* (his deed); or simple vocal *Sh'wā* as שְׁטִיגָה *sting*;—b) when another *Qā'mēš-chāṭēph* follows, as פְּעֻלָּתְךָ *pō-'ōl'khā'* (thy deed);—c) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (—), which is found in manuscripts, viz., קְדָשִׁים *qō-dhā-shīm* (sanctuaries) and שְׁרָשִׁים *shō-rā-shīm* (roots).

In these cases (—) is followed by *Methēgh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bær-Del. Job VI.*) read *ā* thus: *pā-'lō*, *dā-rēbān*, *pā-'ōl'khā*, *qā-dāšīm*. This tradition though sustained by the Babylon. Punct. (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Methēgh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: *pō-'lō* (f. *pō-lō*), *pō-'ōl'khā*, *qōdā-šīm* (clearly orthogr. for *qōdāšīm*). Quite as difficult would be *Methēgh* as a sign of *ā* in בְּחַיִּיִּם *Ex. 11, 8*, however possibly in בָּנֵי־בָאֵן *bā-'ōnī*, in the fleet 1 K. 9, 27 where the *ā* of the article is found under the ב.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SHĒWÂ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.¹ They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign —, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half *ë* (°). It is called *Shĕwâ*,² and also *simple Shĕwâ*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Shĕwâ* (*Shĕwâ mobilē*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Shĕwâ quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal *Shĕwâ*. Of the vocal *Shĕwâ* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Shĕwâ mobilē*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether — *a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל *qā-ṭāl*, מַמְלִיכָה *māmālīkâ*; or — *b*) in the middle of the word, as קָטַלְתָּ *qā-ṭaltâ*, יִיקְטַלְתָּ *yīq-ṭaltâ*, קָטַלְתָּ *qā-ṭaltâ*,

2) the so-called *Shĕwâ medium*,³ or *Shĕwâ wavering* [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as *appoggiatura* to the following syllable. The *Shĕwâ medium* therefore stands between the *Shĕwâ quiescens* and the real *Shĕwâ mobilē*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

¹ In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

² The name שְׁוָא is written also שְׁוָא, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

³ Dr. Davies preferred to regard the cases here classified (under the name of *medium*) as exceptionally faint *vocal Shĕwâs*, to be indicated in English by an apostrophe ('), thus קָטַלְתָּ *māl'-kê*.—Ed.

counted among the latter; e. g. הִנִּי *hin-nî* (which stands for הִנִּי *hin-n-nî*); לַמִּנְאָח *la-m-naṣṣē'ach* (for לִמְ *mal'khē*).

The sound *ē* may be regarded as representing vocal *Sh'wā*, although it is certain that it often accorded in sound with other vowels. The Sept. express it by ε, even η, Χερουβίμ, ἀλληλοῦτα, oftener by α, Σαμουήλ, but very often they give it a sound to accord with the following vowel, as Σόδομα, Σολομών (besides Σαλωμών), Σαβᾶωθ, Ναθανάηλ.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Sh'wā* is given also by the Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

How the *Sh'wā* sound springs from the slight or hasty utterance of a stronger vowel, we may see in בָּרַךְ (for which also בָּרַךְ occurs, see No. 2, Rem.) from *barakha*, as this word also sounds in Arabic. This language has still regularly for vocal *Sh'wā* an ordinary short vowel.

2. With the simple vocal *Sh'wā* is connected the so-called composite *Sh'wā* or *Chāṭē'ph* (*rapid*), i. e. a *Sh'wā* attended by a short vowel to indicate that we should sound it as a half *ä*, *ē*, or *ö*. We have, answering to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7, 1), the following three *Chāṭē'phs*:

(—) *Chāṭē'ph-Pāthäch*, as in חֵמֹר *ch'môr* (ass).

(—) *Chāṭē'ph-S'ghô'l*, as in אָמַר *'môr* (to say).

(—) *Chāṭē'ph-Q'd'mēš*, as in חֵלִי *ch'li* (sickness).

These *Chāṭē'phs*, at least the two former, stand chiefly under the four gutturals (§ 22, 3), the utterance of which naturally causes the annexed half-vowel to be rather more distinctly sounded. At the beginning of the syllable a guttural can never have a *simple Sh'wā*.

Rem. Only (—) and (—) occur under letters which are not gutturals.

¹ This is not unusual in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e. g. Μαλακά *Malaca*, Γουβυλίμ *gubulim* (see *Gesen. Mon. Phœnicia* p. 436, *Schröder*, *die phonic. Spr.*, S. 139 ff., *Mover's* article *Phönizien* in the *Encyclop.* p. 436). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in *τέτυφα*, *τετυμμένος*, and the old form *memordi*.

² See especially *Juda Chayyug*, p. 4 and p. 130 of the edition by Nutt, (Berlin, 1870) = p. 200 in ed. by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844), also in *Ibn Esra's* *Sachoth*, p. 3, *Gesenius's* *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, S. 68. The "Manuel du lecteur" mentioned above § 6, 1 contains also express rules for the different utterances of the vocal *Sh'wā*.

The *Chāṭēph-Pāthāch* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Sh'wā*, especially *a)* under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal *Sh'wā*, as שְׁבִלִי *branches* Zech. 4, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer.* Ztschr. Bd. 24, p. 499), וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ Judg. 16, 16; no less universally where after a consonant with (—) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. סִדְרִים Ps. 68, 7; קָלִילָה Gen. 27, 13 (except some special cases like דָּגְלִי *see me!*) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. מְרִכִּי Ps. 108, 1; *b)* under the initial sibilants after ו copulative e. g. וְיִתְּנֶנּוּ Gen. 2, 12; וְיִשְׁקָה Gen. 27, 26, to give the *Sh'wā* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic ק in וְיִקְרֶב Ps. 55, 2 and under ר in וְרָעָם Ps. 28, 9; *c)* under liquids, sibilants, or פ after י, e. g. אֶמְרוּ Ps. 12, 7, מְסַבֵּר Ps. 74, 5 for the same reason, as cases under *b*.

The *Chāṭēph-Qā'mēṣ* is less connected with the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Sh'wā* when an *O* sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. רָאִי for רָאִי *vision* (§ 93, VI. Rem. 6), יִרְדָּה for the usual יִרְדָּה Ez. 35, 6, from יִרְדָּה; קָרְקִי *his pate* from קָרְקִי. It is used, also, like (—) when *Dāghēsh fortē* has fallen away, לָקַח for לָקַח Gen. 2, 23. Here, as in וְיִקְרֶב 1 K. 13, 7, and וְיִשְׁקָה Jer. 22, 20, the choice of this *composite Sh'wā* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding *U* sound; in וְיִשְׁקָה (*u-ṭhōr*) additionally on the fol. *O* sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Sh'wā* (—) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider*, without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Sh'wā* (Arab. *sukūn* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ק, e. g. מֶלֶךְ (*king*), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in נָרַד (*nard*), אַתָּה (*thou, fem.*), קָטַלְתָּ (*thou hast killed*), וַיַּשְׁק (*and he watered*), וַיִּשֶׁב (*and he took captive*), אַל־תִּשֶׂה (*drink thou not*).

Yet in the last examples *Sh'wā* under the last letter might rather pass for *vocal*, since it is pretty clear that a final vowel has been shortened, e. g. אַתָּה *'attē* from אַתָּה *'attē*, קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתָּ *yishbē* from קָטַלְתָּ *etc.* The Arabic actually has a short vowel in the analogous forms. In נָרַד (Cant. 4, 14) borrowed from the Indian, קָטַלְתָּ (truth) Prov. 22, 21, *qōshṭ*, אַל־תִּשֶׂה (*ne addas*) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute draws from itself a very slight vowel sound.

¹ So thought *Juda Chayyūy* among the Jewish grammarians.

§ 11.

OF THE OTHER SIGNS WHICH AFFECT THE READING.

In intimate connection with the vowel-points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point of **ו** and **וּ** (p. 27), a point is used in a letter, in order to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled; and, on the contrary, a small horizontal stroke *over* a letter, as a sign that it has *not* the strong sound. The use of the point in the letter is *threefold*: — *a*) as *Dāghē'sh fortè* or sign of *doubling* (§ 12); — *b*) as *Dāghē'sh lenè* or sign of the hard (not aspirated) sound (§ 13); — *c*) *Mappī'q*, a sign that the vowel-letter (§ 7, 2) especially the **ר** at the end of a word (§ 14, 1), has the sound of a consonant. The stroke *over* a letter, *Rāphē*, has a contrary effect, and is rarely used in the printed text (§ 14, 2).

§ 12.

OF DĀGHĒSH IN GENERAL, AND DĀGHĒSH FORTE IN PARTICULAR.

1. *Dāghē'sh* is a point written in the bosom¹ of a consonant, and is employed for two purposes; *a*) to indicate the *doubling* of the letter (*Dāghē'sh fortè*), e. g. **שׁוּפ** *qī-šēl*; *b*) the *hardening* of the aspirates (§ 6, 3), i. e. the removal of the aspiration (*Dāghē'sh lenè*). Comp. Note p. 49.

The root **שׁוּפ**, from which **שׁוּפ** is derived, signifies in Syriac to *thrust* or *bore through* (with a sharp iron). Hence the word *Dāghē'sh* is commonly supposed to mean, with reference to its figure merely, a *prick* or a *point*. But the names of all similar signs are expressive of their grammatical power, and in this case, the name of the sign refers both to its figure and its use. In grammatical language **שׁוּפ** means,— 1) *acuerè* (*literam*), to *sharpen* the letter by doubling it;—2) to *harden* the letter by taking away its aspiration. Accordingly **שׁוּפ** means *sharpening* and *hardening*, i. e. the sign of sharpening or hardening (like

¹ The **ו** with *Dāghē'sh* is easily distinguished from *Shūrēq*, which never admits a vowel or *Sh'wā* under or before the **ו**. The *Wāw* with *Dāghē'sh* (וּ) ought to have the point not so high up as the *Wāw* with *Shūrēq* (וּ). But this difference is mostly neglected in print.

Mäppf'q, מַפְּפִ'ק *proferens*, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רַקָּח *soft* (§ 14, 2).—That דָּגֵשׁ, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Sicilicus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Lucūlus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over *m* and *n*). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13.

OF DĀGHĒSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בְּגִדְּמָת (§ 6, 3)¹. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. מַלְכָּה *mā-lēkh*, but מַלְכֹּה *mal-kō*; תַּפְּחָר, but תַּפְּחֹר *yith-pō'r*; שְׁתָּחָה *shā-thā*, but שְׁתָּחֹה *yish-tē*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, since in such cases the doubling of a letter is impossible. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אַפִּי *āp-pī*, רַבִּים *rāb-bīm*, but *lene* in יִגְדֹּל *yigh-dā'l*, פָּנִים *pānim*.

3. Dāghē'sh *forte* in an aspirate doubles it in its original harder sound, so excluding its aspiration and serving at once for both *forte* and *lene*, as in אַפִּי *āp-pī*, רַקָּח *rāk-kō'th*. Compare in German *stechen* and *stecken*, English *stitch* and *stick*, *wachen* and *wecken*, Engl. *watch* and *wake*.

It is natural that where the letter is to be doubled, it does not admit easily of such a softening of its sound. In confirmation of this rule

¹ Prof. Kautsch notices here an anomalous application of the *Dāghē'sh lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch, e. g. בְּכָל־לֵבָי Ps. 9, 2, מִדְּסִי Ps. 62, 8, comp. Delitzsch, luth. Ztschr. 1863, S. 413.—Ed.

we may refer to certain Oriental words, which, in the earliest times, passed over into the Greek language, as **ספא** **ἀπάτα** (not **ἀφφα**), yet **ספיר** **σάφειρος**.

The doubling of a letter does not occur in Syriac, at least not in its Western dialects. Where it would be required, however, according to etymology and analogy, in some cases the hard sound at least remains: thus **אפין** in Syriac is read 'apin for 'appin, **דכר** *dakî* for *dakkî*.

§ 14.

MAPPI'Q AND RĀPHÈ.

1. *Mappi'q*, like *Dāghē'sh*, to which it is analogous, is a point in a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters **א**, **י**, and **ו**, **ה** (*literae quiescibiles*, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as *consonants*, instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final **ה**, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. **גבה** *gā-bhā'h* (to be high), **ארצה** *'ār-šā'h* (her land), the *h* having its full consonant-sound (shortened from *-hā*), in distinction from **ארצה** *'ā-r-šā* (land-ward), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a **ה** was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. The use of *Mappi'q* with **א**, **י**, **ו**, to mark them as consonants, is almost confined to manuscripts, e. g. **גוי** (*gōy*), **קו** (*qāw*); and it appears in the printed text only very seldom with the 'Alēph, thus **א** Gen. 43, 26, Lev. 23, 17, Ezr. 8, 18.

The name **מפיק** signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for *Dāghē'sh*, because the design was analogous, viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

2. *Rāphè* (**רפה** i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both *Dāghē'sh* and *Mappi'q*, especially of *Dāghē'sh lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either *Dāghē'sh lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. **מלקח** *mā'lekh*, **רפה**; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of *Dāghē'sh* or *Mappi'q* is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in **רפאל** for **רפאל** Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lenè* in **רפח** v. 28, and *Mappi'q* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.

OF THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* in general is, to show the rhythmical members of the verses in the Old Testament text, especially in the poetical books. But as such the use is two-fold, according to which they are chiefly to be noticed in the grammar, viz.—*a*) to show the logical relation of each word to the whole sentence;—*b*) to mark the tone-syllable in each word. In respect to the former, they serve as signs of *interpunction*; in respect to the latter, as signs of the *tone* or *accent*.

By the Jews they are moreover regarded as signs of *declamation*, intimating the elevation and depression of the tone, and are used as such in the recitation, or rather the *cantillation*, of the Old Test. in the synagogues. This use of them is also connected with the general rhythmical design.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mīl-rá'* (מִלְרָא' Aram. *from below*), e. g. קָטַל *qā-ṭāl'*; in the second, *mīl-é'l* (מִלְעֵל Aram. *from above*), e. g. מָלַךְ *mā'-lēkh*. On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Méthègh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a *proparoxytone* in such cases as יָחַד *yāḥad* Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to *separate* the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of *connection*. Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called כִּי"א i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note⁵ p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosaic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order¹ of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. *Distinctives* (Domini).

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| I. <i>Imperatores</i> | { | 1. (.) סִלּוּ'q; (Sillū'q, ² "end") with (:) סִיף פָּסִיק; |
| | | 2. (.) אֲתָנַח (Athnā'ch, "rest"); ³ |
| | | 3. (') סִגְלֵתָא (S'ghöltā, "bunch of grapes"); †† |
| | | 4. (') שְׁלִשְׁלֵתוֹ (Shālshelēth, "chain") with פָּסִיק following; |
| II. <i>Reges</i> | { | 5. (') זָקָה קָטוֹן (Zāqēph qātōn, "slight suspension"); |
| | | 6. (') זָקָה גָּדוֹל (Zāqēph gādhōl, "great suspension"); |
| | | 7. (') רִבְרִיעַ (R'bhīā', "square" or "reposing"); |
| | | 8. (') פָּשְׁטָא (Pāshṭā, "letting down"); †† |
| III. <i>Duces</i> | { | 9. (') יָתִיב (Y'ṭibh, "sitting still"); † |
| | | 10. (') טִפְחָא (Tiphchā, "palm of the hand"); † |
| | | 11. (') תְּבִיר (T'bhīr, "interruption"); |
| | | 12. (') זֶרְקָא (Zarqā, "dispersion"); †† |
| IV. <i>Comites</i> | { | 13. (') גֶּרֶשׁ (Gērēsh, "expulsion"); |
| | | 14. (') גֶּרֶשִׁים (G'rāshim, "double Geresh"); |
| | | 15. (') לְגַרְמָהוּ (L'garmēh = מַרְיָה (see 21) with (ו) פָּסִיק (P'siq, "cut off"); |
| | | 16. (') פָּזֵר (Pāzēr, "separator"); |
| | | 17. (') קָרְנֵי פָרָה (Qārñē-phārā, "heifer's horns"); |
| | | 18. (') תְּלִישָׁא גְּדוֹלָה (T'lishā G'dholā, "great shield"); |

¹ This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by *Kautzsch*, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by *Stade* (Lehrb. 1879), *Ewald* and others.—*Ed.*

² Only at the end of the verse and always united with (') *Sōph-pāssū'q* which separates each verse, e. g. : יִאֲרִץ.

³ Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

⁴ For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (.) מִרְכָּא (*Mēr'khā*, "prolonging");
20. (.) מִרְכָּא כְּפֻלָּא (*Mēr'khā kh'phūla*, "m. doubled");
21. (.) מִנְחָא (*Mūnāch*, "at rest");
22. (.) דְּרָגָא (*Dārgā*, "progress");
23. (.) קְדָמָא (*Qādhmā*, "beginning");
24. (.) מִחְפָּךְ (*Māhpāch*, "inverted");
25. (') תְּלִישָׁא קְטַנָּה (*T'lishā Q'ṭannā*, "little shield"); ††
26. (.) יָרַח בְּנֵי יוֹמֹ (*Yērāch ben Yōmō*, "moon a day old");
27. (.) מֵאֵילָא (*M'ailā*, "from afar").¹

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (:) סְלִיּוּק *Silluq* (see above).
2. (') מִרְכָּא מְחַפָּךְ *Mēr'khā m'huppākh* or 'Ölèv'jōrēd, a stronger separator than
3. (.) אֶתְנַח *'Athnā'ch* (v. s.). In smaller verses *'Athnāch* suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the *Mēr'khā m'huppākh* serves as such, and is then always followed by *'athnach* as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (') רִבִּיעַ גָּדוֹל Great *R'biā*,
5. (') רִבִּיעַ מְגֻרָשׁ *R'bhī^d Mugrāsh*, i. e. *R'bhī^d* with *Gérēsh* over the same word,
6. (') שְׁלֵשֶׁלֶת *Shālshēlēth* (v. s.),
7. (') צִנּוֹר *Šinnōr* (*Zārqā*) ††;
8. (') רִבִּיעַ קְטַנָּה Little *R'bhī^d*, immediately before *Mēr'khā m'huppākh*,
9. (.) דְּחִי *D'chī* or *tiphchā prepositive* †,
10. (') פָּזֵר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),
- 11a. (.) מִחְפָּךְ לְגַרְמֵה *M'huppākh l'garmēh*, i. e. *māhpakh* with *P'siq*,
- 11b. (') אֶזְלָא לְגַרְמֵה *'Azlā l'garmēh*, i. e. *Azlā* with *P'siq*.

¹ To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Silluq* or *'Athnā'ch*.

B. *Conjunctives.*

12. () מִירְכָּא *Mēr'khā* (v. s.),
13. () מוֹנַח *Mūnach* (v. s.),
14. (') עֲלִי *Illui* or *Munach Superior*,
15. () טָרְחָא *Tārchā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.
16. () גָּלְגַל *Galgāl* (or *Yērāch* v. no. 26 supra.),
17. () מַהְפָּךְ *Māhpākḥ* (v. s.),
18. (') אֲזֵלָא *Azlā* (v. s.),
19. (') שְׁלִשְׁתָּי קִטְנָה *Shalshleth q'tannāh* (little Sh.). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *Psiq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰμί and εἰμι, *entrance* and *éntrance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנוּ *bā-nū'* (*they built*), בָּנוּ *bā'nū* (*in us*); קָמָה *qā'mā* (*she stood up*), קָמָה *qāmā'* (*standing up, fem.*).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by†, the latter by††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. קָמָה קָטָן *qā-ṭā'-l-tā.*

II. *As Signs of Interpunction.*

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with *Sillāq*¹, or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*ditio*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions.

¹ This has the same form with *Methègh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillāq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Methègh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Mäqqēph* is used (§ 16, 1).

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiunt legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain¹ the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Rebhā'* *Mugrāsh* before *Sillūq* and the *D'chī* before *Athnā'ch* must be changed into a conjunctive, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Sh'wā mobile* after *Qā'mēq*, *Šērē* or *Chō'lem* (with *Méthēgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16.

OF MAQQEPH AND METHEGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Mäqqēph* (מקף *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ *all which to him* (was) Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל־ *to*, עַל־ *on*, אֶת־ *sign of the Acc.*, כָּל־ *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. הַיָּמִין־לִי Gen. 6, 9, הַיָּמִין־לִי Gen. 1, 7, 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שִׁבְעֵהָ־עָשָׂר Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, ἐκ, ἐξ, ἐλ, ὡς, οὐ, which as ἀτρονζ lean on the next word.

2. *Méthēgh* (מֶתֶחַךְ *a bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

¹ The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. A. O. Davidson's *Outlines of Heb. Accentuation*. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on Psalms, and *Delitzsch's* review, in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's elements (Leipz. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer-Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Méthègh*: *Ma'rikh* (מַאֲרִיחַ), i. e. *lengthener*, or *gā'yā* (גָּאֵיָא) i. e. *raising of the voice*).¹

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Méthègh*. This is divided again into: a) the ordinary *Méthègh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הָאֶרֶם; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. הָאֶרְבֵּי and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Méthègh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *mäqqēph* to a word beginning with *Sh'wā* pretonic, e. g. שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי, מִרְלָה to prevent the *Sh'wā* from being regarded as *silent*.

This *Méthègh* never stands with the *copulative*; therefore *not*. וְבָנִים etc. (likewise *not* וְיָבִי etc.—contrary to *b*, *α*, below; although וְיָוִד etc. according to *b*, *δ*, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Méthègh*. α) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Sh'wā* pretonic, e. g. קָטְלָה etc. β) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Mäqqēph*, e. g. שְׁדֵרִי Gen. 4, 25 (*ā*, not *ō*). γ) with *Sērē* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *S'ghōl*, e. g. אֶהְיֶה (not *'ōhēbh*). δ) with all vowels before composite *Sh'wā* e. g. יַעֲקֹב, יַעֲקֹבִים etc. except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. יַקְרְבוּ Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *dāghēsh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Méthègh*. ε) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, where the ה and ח stand with *silent Sh'wā* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. הָיָה, חָיָה etc. ζ) with the *Qāmēṣ* of the plural forms בָּיִת, *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bāttim* etc.) and with אָנָּה *prithēe!* to avoid the sounds *bōttim*, *ōnnā*.

Every kind of light *Méthègh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

¹ Comp. as the source of the article on *Méthègh*, the thorough discussion of *S. Baer* upon the "Metheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in *A. Merx*, Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The *grave Méthëgh* (Gá'yā in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Sh'wā*, especially to the *Pāthäch* of the article or the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Sh'wā*, e. g. הַמִּסְלָה, לְמִסְלָה *etc.*, but not before י (except יִרְיִי and יִרְיִי when they stand before *Méthëgh* or with the accent *Pāshṭā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Méthëgh*. It is also put with interrogative ה when it has *Pāthäch* and at the *right side* of it e. g. הֲאֵלֶּךָ (except before י, *dāghēsh forte*, or the tone). The so-called *Sh'wā Gá'yā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive*.

3) The *Euphonic Gá'yā*, for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. לֹא יִשְׁכַּב לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; מִדְּנֶה אֲרָם Gen. 28, 2 *etc.*

Rem. 1. The *Méthëgh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a*, above) the quantity of *Qāmëṣ* and *Chîrëḡ* before a *Sh'wā*. Thus in אֶחָד 'ā-kh'ā' the *Méthëgh* shows that the *Sh'wā* is here *vocal*; but the (—) in an open syllable before (—) must be *long* (§ 26, 3), consequently *Qāmëṣ*, not *Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph*. On the contrary, in אֶחָד 'ā-kh'ā' without *Méthëgh* the (—) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently *short* (*Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph*). Thus also יִירָאוּ (they fear) with *Méthëgh* with a long *i*, yî-r'-ū', but יִירָאוּ (they see) without *Méthëgh* with short *i*, yîr'-ū'; see also the rule about *Qāmëṣ* and *Qāmëṣ-chāṭū'ph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Méthëgh* as open. With them the *Sh'wā* is silent, in cases like אֶחָד (above), the כ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. *Baer*. *Torath 'Emeth* p. 9. and in *Mera's Archiv* I. p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

OF THE QERĪ AND KETHĪBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2), called קרי (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called **כְּתִיב** (*written*). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text **אֶנְכִי**, in the margin **קָרִי אֶנְכִי**. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced **אֶנְכִי** *we*; but in reading the *Kethibh* **אֶנְכִי**, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely **אֶנְכִי** *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Q^{ri} perpetuum*. So we find **הָיָא** (*Q. הָיָא*) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); **יְשׁוּעָר** (*Q^{ri} יְשׁוּעָר*) Gen. 30, 18 *etc.* comp. *Gesen. Lex.* and *Baer-Delitzsch, Liber Genesis* p. 84, **יְרֻשָׁלַם** (*Q^{ri} יְרֻשָׁלַם*), properly **יְרֻשָׁלַם**; **יְהוָה** (*Q^{ri} אֲדֹנָי the Lord*), or **יְהוָה** (*Q. אֱלֹהִים God*) whenever **אֲדֹנָי** stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always **יְהוָה** *Yäh-wé* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.).

As to the critical value of the marginal readings see *Gesenius's* *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, S. 50, 75.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation*, *assimilation*, *rejection* and *addition*, *transposition*.

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or homogeneous (comp. § 6, Rem. 1 on page 29), e. g. עָלַץ , עָלַם , עָלַז to *exult*; לָאָה , לָהָה , Aram. לָעָא to *tire*; רָם — and רָן — (as plural ending); רָחַץ and רָחַץ to *press*; סָנַר and סָנַר to *close*; מָלַט and מָלַט to *slip* or *escape*. In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramæan, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. נָצַל for נָצַל to *reject*, רָחַץ for רָחַץ to *laugh*; and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as ד for ז , ב for ז , ח for ש ; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — a) of ח and ב in Hithpa'el, (§ 54); — b) of ר and י in verbs *Pē Yôdh* (§ 69), as יָדַר for יָדַר (*he begat*).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustriſ* for *inlustriſ*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συλλαμβάνω . In Hebrew this occurs—

a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נ , especially before harder consonants, e. g. שָׁמָּה (for שָׁמָּה) *from there*,

מִזֶּה (for מִזֶּה) *from this*, יָתֵן (for יָתֵן) *he will give*, נָתַתָּ (for נָתַתָּ) *thou hast given*. Before gutturals נ is commonly retained (except sometimes with ח); also after the prefix ל, as לִנְתֵּן *etc.* and when the נ is the third letter of the stem, as נָתַתָּ *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ); finally in isolated cases as תִּתֶּנָּה Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3. Deut. 33, 9).

- b) less frequently, and only in special cases, with ל, ר, ת, ד, e. g. יִקַּח for יִלְקַח *he will take*, הִכְבִּיד for הִכְבִּיד *to be established*, שָׁלִי for אֲשֶׁר לִי *who to me* (§ 36); אָחִי for אָחִי.
- c) in isolated cases with אָחִי e. g. בְּאֶסְאָה Is. 27, 8; אָחִי from אָחִי; finally ו and י mostly before sibilants in forms like יִצָּר for יִצָּר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghē'sh fortē* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the *Dāghē'sh* is omitted, e. g. אָחִי *nose* for אָחִי or אָחִי, תָּחִי for תָּחִי (prop. תָּחִי) *to give*, לָחִי for לָחִי *to bear*; comp. τύψας for τύψας.

In these last cases the assimilated letter has not *Sh'wā*, but the helping-vowel *S'ghōl* (§ 28, 4), which, however, is only recognized as an euphonic substitute for *Sh'wā*.

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. קָשָׁלָחִי from קָשָׁלָחִי (§ 59, Rem. 3), מִמֶּנִּי for מִמֶּנִּי *from him* (§ 108, 2). With this may be reckoned יִשָּׁב for יִשָּׁב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5), also אָסַב for אָסַב (§ 68, 2).

3. The complete rejection or falling away of a consonant easily happens, especially in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (א, ח), or vowel-letters (ו, י), or liquids (כ, ל). It happens—

- a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נָחִי and אָחִי (*we*), שָׁ for אֲשֶׁר (comp. No. 2, b, above), שָׁ (*sit thou*) for יִשָּׁב; רָע for orig. רָע; קָח for לָקַח; רָחִי 2 Sam. 22, 41 is anomalous.

b) in the midst of a word (*contraction*), when such a feeble consonant is preceded only by a Sh^{wā}, e. g. מָרַם for מָרַמִּים (but comp. רָאָשׁוֹן for רָאָשׁוֹן, לְמַלְכָּה for לְחַמְלָה (§ 23, 4, and § 35, Rem. 2), יִקְטִיל for יִקְטִיל (§ 53, 1). The contraction (or *syncope*) of א in the beginning of the syllable as בְּאִיִּי, and לְקָרָא for לְקָרָא—the א being orthographically retained. Finally to the department of syncopè belongs the elision of the half vowel at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, as e. g. יָרַד for יָרַד as well as that of the ו and י in verbs לָ"ה (§ 75, 3).

c) at the end of words (*apocopè*), e. g. יִקְטִיל for יִקְטִיל, בְּנִים, before the genitive בְּנֵי (§ 89). Upon the apocopè of half vowels in verbs לָ"ה see § 75.

Bolder changes were made in the infancy of the language, particularly in casting away consonants at the end of a word; thus, from אָבֶן was formed אָבֶן *only*; perh. from בִּירָא, בָּ; from חָלַל, חָ (see § 89, and § 100, 4). Here belongs also the change of the feminine ending חֶ—*āth* to חֶ—*ā* (see § 44, 1, and § 80, 2).

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition* of א (*Āl'eph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זָרוּעַ and אָזָרוּעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit*, Welsh *ysprid*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִתְשַׁמֵּר (§ 54, 2) because *sh* is easier to sound than *thsh*; but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as לְבָשׁ and לְבָשׁ, שְׂמֵלָה and שְׂמֵלָה *garment*, מִלְחָמָה and מִלְחָמָה *tooth*; they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

Even consonants, especially the weaker ones, may at the end of a syllable be softened to vowels, like εἷς from ἔνς, F. *chevaux* from *cheval* (comp. § 30, 3, e), e. g. כּוֹזֵב *star* from כּוֹזֵב, כּוֹזֵב. Comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. art. כּוֹזֵב.

§ 20.

OF THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential*, i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*)—

- a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Sh'wâ*; thus for נָתַנָּה we have נָתַנָּה *we have given*; for שָׁתַּתְּנִי *I have set*; for חָתַּתְּנִי *I have cut off*.
- b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יָתַתְּנִי for יָתַתְּנִי . In both these instances (a and b) it is called *Dāghē'sh compensative*.
- c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לָמַד *he has learned*, but לָמַדְתִּי *he has taught* (*Dāghē'sh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal *Sh'wâ*), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Massora, there should be a composite *Sh'wâ* preceded by *Methēgh* e. g. וְיִלְלִים , וְיִלְלִים etc. (comp. § 16). The *compos. Sh'wâ* does not stand before the ך , e. g. וְיִלְלִים Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Sh'wâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghē'sh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghē'sh forte*, it can have no other than the *Vocal Sh'wâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghē'sh forte* (v. below 3 b) has been omitted, e. g. in וְיִלְלִים really וְיִלְלִים = *hal-lā-lā*. The form וְיִלְלִים Ps. 9, 14 (not וְיִלְלִים) may be explained as *Imper. Pī'el* = וְיִלְלִים ; in the *Imper. Qāl* the insertion of a *Vocal Sh'wâ* under the first נ would be just as strange as in וְיִלְלִים Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf.* וְיִלְלִים Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony*. The use of *Dāghē'sh* in such cases (*Dāghē'sh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

- a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghē'sh forte conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqqaph* to a preceding word which ends in accented וְ or וְ (except when the וְ is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb וְ , or of a substantial infinitive) the so-called וְ *pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchiq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following

B^gadk^ephath. However here belong also cases like יָרָד Jer. 23, 6 (for שָׁמַיְךָ is considered *one* accented syllable): לִקְהֹלֵהֶם Gen. 2, 23; יִצְחָקֶךָ Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Résh* מַעֲהָרָה Prov. 15, 1 (here each 1st word was orig. *mil'ra*).

Analogous to this usage is the Neapolitan *le llagrine* for *le lagrime*, and (including the union of the two words in one) the Italian *alla for a la, della for de la*.

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative מָה (מַה) to the following word by *Dāghēsh forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dāghēsh* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hē*. In favor of this hypothesis are a) the form מָה-מָה etc. in which the ה has been kept only orthographically (therefore also מָה-מָה Exod. 4, 2 מִלְכֶם Is. 3, 15); b) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e.g. מָה-פָּרָצָה Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: נָאֵה Ez. 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, בְּמִבְחָה, v. 13 נִאֲחָה, v. 16, בְּאֲחָה). In all these cases the *Dāghēsh* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'el* terminating in *Qā'mēs*, הָ or הֶ. Such a *Mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians אָחִי מִרְחֵיק *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Daghesh forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e.g. שְׁבִיטָה שְׁבִי Ps. 68, 19; הִרְחִיבָה שְׁאוֹל Is. 5, 14 (only the prefixes הָ, כִּי, לִי, יְיָ, in such cases receive no *Daghesh*). Forms like מִלְאָה שְׁחָד Ps. 26, 10; רָחֵקָה מִנִּי Job 21, 16 as well as יַעֲמֶדָה יְהוָה Is. 50, 8, with an accented antepenultima(?), are likewise considered *Mil'el*. The *Daghesh* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent but with a syllable having *Méthègh*, e. g. הִמָּה יִירָשִׁי Ps. 37, 9; אֶלֶה יַעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עֲשִׂיתָ קְעָרָיוֹ Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Cases like קִימָה צָאָה Gen. 19, 14 (Com. Ex. 12, 15, 31, Deut. 2, 24.) have been wrongly counted here. In such cases the *Dāghēsh* is not *conjunctive* but *orthophonic*, that the sibilants may be duly articulated; v. *Delitzsch* (commentary) upon the *Dāghēsh orthophonic* in חָ Ps. 24, 12.

b) when a consonant with *Shⁿá*, preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Sh'wâ* more audible (*Dāghē'sh dirimens*), e. g. עֲנָבִי for עֲנִי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.¹

- c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נָתַנּוּ for נָתַנּוּ *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יָחַלּוּ for יָחַלּוּ *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.
- d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmativum* in the pronoun הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, אֵלֶּה and in לָמָּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it; viz.—

- a) *almost always* at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone,¹ but like the English *all, call, small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling² the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, b), as רַב (*multitude*) from רָבָב; עָם (*people*) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for עָם from עָמָם. The exceptions are very rare, as אַתָּה *thou f.*, נָתַתָּה *thou hast given* Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).

- b) *often* in certain consonants with *vocal Sh'wâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἄλλο, Homeric for ἄλλετο), under this rule come first ר and ל, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ב, and then the sibilants (except ש), especially when a guttural

¹ Kautsch refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants*, or the emphatic *Qôph*. Comp. however 3, d.—Ed.

² The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, gen. *mellis*; *os*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles*; *svam* (Schwamm), etc.: Grimm's Deutsche Gramm. 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic *q*. Of the *B'gadk'phat* *h* is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dāghē'sh*. Examples: עֲרִירִים, יְהִי, (so always the prefix י in the *Impf.* of the verb), לְמַנְחָה, יִשְׂאֹר, יִקְדֹּחַ, יִקְדֹּחַ etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dāghē'sh* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghē'sh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chirēq* (comp. *mīle* for *mille*), as יִרְיֶקָה he terrifies them for יִרְיֶקָה (Hab. 2, 17), יִקְדֹּחַ Is. 50, 11 *fiery darts* for יִקְדֹּחַ.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION: WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (א, ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ט) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghē'sh lenē* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Sh'wā*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פָּרַץ *pārāḥ* becomes פִּרְץ *yīphrōḥ*; כֹּל *kōl*, לָחַל *lākhōl*. Hence the *aspirates* take *Dāghē'sh lenē*:

1. At the beginning of words, a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as עֲלֵיכֶן *āl-kē'n* (therefore), עֵץ פֵּרִי *ēṣ p'ri* (fruit-tree, lit. tree of fruit), b) at the beginning of a chapter (בְּרֵאשִׁית in the beginning Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuts*, e. g. **וַיְהִי כֵּאֲשֶׁר** *it happened when* Jud. 11, 5 (on the contrary, **וַיְהִי כֵּן** *it was so* Gen. 1, 7); **וַיִּדְבַּח הָרֶגֶל הָאֶרֶץ** *and lo! the face of the ground was dried up* Gen. 8, 13; **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** (with conj. accent); **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** Gen. 35, 5; **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters **א, י, ו, ה**, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** etc. On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal **ו** and **י** as well as by **ה** with *Mappiq*, e. g. **וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּנָיו** Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenē* is therefore regularly found after *יהוה*, because **אֱלֹהֵי** was read instead of it § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh lenē* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: **קָם, בָּב, בָּב, בָּב, בָּב** (i. e. the aspirates with *Sh'wā* before another aspirate); **כָּן** is uncertain; according to *David Kimchī* **כָּן** and **כָּן** must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Sh'wā*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms **כָּדָר** Is. 54, 12 and **כָּלָל** Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after *silent Sh'wā*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. **יִרְפָּא** *yir-pā' (he heals)*, **יִזְכֹּר** *he remembers*, **קָטְלוּ** *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after *vocal Sh'wā* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. **רָפָא** *r-phā (heal thou)*, **שִׁבְרָה** *she was heavy*.

On **קָטְלוּ** and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Sh'wā* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal

- a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. **רָפָא** *pursue ye* (not *רָפָא*) from **רָפָא** (not *רָפָא*) formed immediately from **מְלָכִים** *kings* (on the contrary, **מַלְכֵי** *māl-kā'*, because it is formed directly from **מֶלֶךְ** *mālk*); **בֵּיתָה** *house-ward* (not *בֵּיתָה*) from **בֵּיתָה**.
- b) With the **כ** in the *suffixes* of the 2d person (**וְכָה, וְכָה, וְכָה**), in which *vocal Sh'wā* is characteristic, see § 58, 3, d.

Rem. 1. The form **שִׁבְרָה** *thou. (fem.) hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of **ר** on account of the preceding vowel, was originally **שִׁבְרָה**; and the sound of the **ר**, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek *θρῖς*, *τριχός*); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, א, ח, ע, א, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet א and ע, both having a weaker sound than ח and א, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghēsh fortè*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half*, or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits *Dāghēsh* becomes longer in consequence of the omission;¹ hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before א (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before ע, less often before ח, and still less before א. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghēsh f.* (as the *ch* in the German *sicher, machen*, has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Pāthāch* followed by a guttural with *Qames*, it is merely augmented into *S'ghōl*. This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with ח, usually with א, more rarely with ע and very seldom with א.

Examples of *a*) אָמַן (f. אָמַן); חָזַק (f. חָזַק); עָזַר (f. עָזַר). Of *b*) אָמַן, חָזַק, עָזַר (f. אָמַן, חָזַק, עָזַר); אָמַן, חָזַק, עָזַר (f. אָמַן, חָזַק, עָזַר) (on the contrary before ע as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qā'mēz* of the article, e. g. אָמַן and so mostly before ח, א).

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*; the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; Germ. *drollig*, and Fr. *drôle*. In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. *רָחֵם*, whilst *רָחַם* Gen. 6, 19 is an exception); *נָמַץ*, *נָמַץ* etc.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghēsh fortē* is to be regarded at least as *implied* (therefore it is called *Dāghēsh fortē implicitum, occultum, delitescens*).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

- a) Before a guttural, *Pāthäch* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *i*, *e* (*Chirēq parvum, S'ghôl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Šērē* and *Chōlēm*); e. g. *זָבַח* *sacrifice* for *זָבַח*, *שָׁמַע* *report* for *שָׁמַע*. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with *Pāthäch* is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* of verbs, *שֶׁלַח* *send thou*, *יִשְׁלַח* *he will send* (not *יִשְׁלַח*); *Perf.* *Pi'el* *שָׁלַח* (not *שֶׁלַח*); *נָעַר* *a youth*, *יִרְמֹד* (not *יִרְמֹד*) *he will desire*. In the last 3 case *ā* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak *ā* final the — remains, e. g. *נָשָׂא*, etc.

- b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qā'mēš*, the hard gutturals (consequently not *ā*) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ä* (*Pāthäch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Pāthäch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely *an* orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. *רוּחַ* *rū'ch* (*spirit*), *שְׁלִיחַ* *shā-lū'ch* (*sent*), *רֵיחַ* *rē'ch* (*odour*), *רֵעַ* *rē'* (*companion*), *גְּבוּרָה* *gā-bhō'h* (*high*) when consonantal *h* is final, it necessarily takes *Mäppiq*, *הִשְׁחִיחַ* *hish-hi'ch*,¹ etc. But *הִמְצִיא* without *Pāthäch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. *רוּחַ* etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *i'ch*, *Buch* as *Bu'ch*, and the Arabian *مسيح* as *mesi'ch*, though neither writes the supplied vowel. The LXX write *ε* instead of *Pāthäch furtive*, as *Νῦε*, at times *α*, as *ἱερεῖς* 'Ie'dōōa (also 'Iad'dōō).

¹ Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *ē*, *i*, *ū* and the diphthong *ou*, e. g. *here* (sounded *hēer*), *fire* (*fīer*), *pure* (*pūer*), and *our* (*ouer*).—Tr.

Rem. 1. The guttural sometimes exerts an influence on the *following* vowel. But the examples (esp. with ך) are few, and are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as establishing a general rule, e. g. נַצַּר *a youth* (not נָצַר), נַעַל *deed* (not נָעַל); but also רָחַם etc.

2. Š'ghôl is used instead of Chi'rêq attenuated from Păthăch both *before* and *under* the guttural, but only in an initial syllable, as רִחַשׁ (also רִחַשׁ), רִחַשׁ, רִחַשׁ, רִחַשׁ etc.

When, however, the syllable is sharpened by Dăghê'sh, the more slender and sharp Chi'rêq is retained even under gutturals, as רִחַשׁ, רִחַשׁ, רִחַשׁ; but when the sharpening of the syllable ceases by the falling away of Dăghê'sh, the Š'ghôl, which is required by the guttural, returns, e. g. רִחַשׁ, const. state רִחַשׁ *meditation*; רִחַשׁ, constr. state רִחַשׁ *vision*.

3. Instead of *simple Sh'wâ vocal* (§ 10, 1), the gutturals take a *composite Sh'wâ* (§ 10, 2), e. g. אָחִילִים, אָמַר, אָמַרְתָּ, *they have slain*, יִשְׁחָדּוּ, *they will slay*. This is the most common use of the composite Sh'wâs.

4. When a guttural stands at the end of a (closed) syllable, in the midst of a word, it may retain its silent *Sh'wâ*, especially with ך or ץ at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ *thou hast sent*, but also before the tone (v. examples under No. 2, Rem. 2) and this also with ך and ם. But when the syllable stands *before* the tone, the closed syllable is artificially opened by giving to the guttural a slight vowel (one of the *composite Sh'wâs*), which has the same sound as the full vowel preceding, as יִחַשׁ *he thinks* (also יִחַשׁ), פָּעַל *pô'el* (f. פָּעַל), יִחַשׁ (also יִחַשׁ); this composite Sh'wâ is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, whenever the following consonant loses its full vowel in consequence of an increase at the end of the word, e. g. יִחַשׁ, יִחַשׁ, יִחַשׁ (from יִחַשׁ), יִחַשׁ, יִחַשׁ (from יִחַשׁ).

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Sh'wâ* under the gutturals *hard* (קָשֶׁה), and the *composite Sh'wâs* in the same situation *soft* (רַחֵם). See more in the observations on verbs with gutturals (§§ 62—65).

2. Respecting the choice between the three composite Sh'wâs it may be remarked, that—

a) ך, ך, ץ, at the beginning of syll. prefer —, but ם prefers —, e. g. אָמַר *ass*, הָרַג *to kill*, אָמַר *to say*. But when a word receives an

increase at the end, or loses the tone, & also takes — (considered as lighter), as אַלְּ to, but אֶלֶיכֶם to you; אָכַל to eat, but אָכַלְתָּ Gen. 3, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

- b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh^wā is regulated by the vowel (and its class); which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh^wā; as *Perf.* *Hiph'il* הִפְחִיל (after the form הִפְחִיל), *Inf.* הִפְחִיל (after הִפְחִיל), *Perf.* *Höph'al* הִפְחִיל (after הִפְחִיל).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The ה, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz.—

- a) The exclusion of Dāghē'sh fortè; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as בִּרְךָ he has blessed for בִּרְךָ; בִּרְךָ to bless for בִּרְךָ.
- b) The use of Pāthāch¹ before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. יָרָא and he saw, while the full form יִרְאֶה is in use; וָיָסַר for וַיָּסַר and he turned back, and for וַיָּסַר and he caused to turn back.

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are מְרָא (trouble) Prov. 14, 10; לֹא-כָרַח שֶׁנָּח לוֹ khōrrāth shōr-rēkh (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pr. 3, 8); שָׁרַח Cant. 5, 2 וַיָּרָא 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write שָׁרַח Σάρα). A case of virtual doubling (after ה for ה) is found in Is. 14, 3 מְרָחֵם and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 מְרָחֵם (for מְרָחֵם), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS א AND ה.

1. The א, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

¹ The preference of *r* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in ρος, as φανερά for φανερή from φανερός.—Tr.

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*), as in מָצָא *he has found*, מָלָא *he was filled*, מָצָא *to find*, מָלָא, מְלָא, (from מְלָאָה), מְמָלָאָה. In cases like מְלָאָה, מְמָלָאָה etc. the א has only an orthographical significancy.

2. On the contrary א retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as אָמַר *he has said*, מָאָסוּ *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Sh'wā* e. g. נָאֲדָר *nē'dar*, or where it is protected by *Chāṭēph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לֶאֱכַל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a*) when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Sh'wā*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel under א is shifted back, to the place of the *Sh'wā*, as in מֵאֲתָיִם (*heads*) for מֵאֲתָיִם, בְּרָאָם for בְּרָאָם Neh. 6, 8, מֵאֲתָיִם (*two hundred*) for מֵאֲתָיִם; א is orthogr. in רֵאשֹׁן for רֵאשֹׁן (*chōṭīm*) for רֵאשֹׁן 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as מְלָאָה for מְלָאָה, לְקָרָאָה for לְקָרָאָה or with silent *Sh'wā* וְשִׁמְעָאָל for וְשִׁמְעָאָל; *b*) when it stands with (—) or (—) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains א only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. וְיִאָּזַל Num. 11, 25 for וְיִאָּזַל; וְיִאָּזַל modified from וְיִאָּזַל for וְיִאָּזַל; וְיִאָּזַל for וְיִאָּזַל etc. An elision of the *Chāṭēph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in וְיִאָּזַל *and my lord* for וְיִאָּזַל, וְיִאָּזַל for וְיִאָּזַל (§ 102, 2) וְיִאָּזַל Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of א in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters ו and י, according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ō* and the latter with *ē* and *î*; e. g. בֵּיר for בֵּיר (*cistern*), בֵּיר (*buffalo*) for בֵּיר, רִישׁוֹן (*first*) for רִישׁוֹן in Job 8, 8; comp. לֹא for לֹא (not) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in *Kithibh*; at the end of a word ה also is written for א, as יִמְלֵא (*he fills*) for יִמְלֵא Job 8, 21.

3. When א is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. וָיָחִי (*I went forth*) for וָיָחִי, מָלָא (*I am full*) for מָלָא Job 32, 18, אָמַר (*I say*) constantly for אָמַר, מָלָא for מָלָא Ezek. 28, 16, לְהַשְׁחִית (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for לְהַשְׁחִית (*Kith.*) comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramaean the $\aleph$ becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography $\aleph$ serves also to indicate the lengthened $\hat{a}$; but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long $\hat{a}$ sound, as in קָאם Hos. 10, 14 for the usual קָם *he stood up*, רָאשׁ *poor* Prov. 10, 4, 13, 23 for רָשׁ (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac $\aleph$ even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Sh'wâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אָכַל in Syr. أَكَلَ. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a *composite Sh'wâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אָזָר *girdle* for אֶזְרָא, אֶתֶּן *tents* for אֶתְנָן, אֶתֶּן *stalls* for אֶתְנָן, אֶתֶּן *bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אֶתֶּן.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an $\aleph$ (without any sound) is added to a final $\hat{u}$, $\hat{i}$ and $\hat{o}$, as אָלְכֵיָא for אָלְכֵי (they go) Josh. 10, 24; אָבִיָא (they are willing) Is. 28, 12; also נָקִיָא for נָקִי *pure*, לֵיָא for לֵי *if*, אָמֵיָא for אָמֵי *then*, רִבִּיָא for רִבִּי *myriad* Neh. 7, 66, 72. As to the $\aleph$ in דָּוִיָא and רִיָא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The η is stronger and firmer than the $\aleph$, and scarcely ever loses its aspiration (or *quiesces*) in the middle of a word;¹ at the end also it may remain a consonant, and then it takes *Mäppiq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of the η at the end of a word is given up, and η (without *Mäppiq*, or with *Râphè* רָ) then remains only as a representative of the final vowel, e. g. לָהּ (to her) Num. 32, 42 for לָהֶּ, Job 31, 22, Ex. 9, 18. The η is often elided *a*) by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Sh'wâ* (v. § 23, 2, *a*, with $\aleph$) e. g. (the η of the article) לְבֹקֶר (at the morning) for לְבֹקֶר, בְּאֶרֶץ (in the land) for בְּאֶרֶץ; (Impf. Hiph.) for יִתְקַדֵּר; יִתְקַדֵּן contracted יִתְקַדֵּן *b*) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the η , e. g. סִינָה (also written סִינָה) from סִינָה ($a + u = \hat{o}$).—In other cases, however, the vowel under η is displaced by the one before it, as בָּם (in them) from בָּהֶם.

¹ A very few examples are found in *proper names*, as קִינָה, קִינָה, which are compounded of two words, and in many MSS are also written in two separate words. One other case, יִשְׂרָאֵל Jer. 46, 20, is also in the printed text divided by *Maqqeph*, in order to bring the *quiescent* η at the end.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* ך at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant ך̣. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final *ā*, as also *ō*, *ē* and *ē* (S^ghō'l), e. g. אָשׁוּחַ, גָּלִיחַ, גָּלִיחַ, גָּלִיחַ. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with *ō* and *ē*, ך is occasionally changed for ך̣ and ך̣ (אָשׁוּחַ = אָשׁוּחַ, גָּלִיחַ = גָּלִיחַ Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for ך̣ according to later and Aramæan orthography, particularly with *ā*, e. g. שָׁנָא (sleep) Ps. 127, 2 for שָׁנָא, נָשָׂא (to forget) Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂא, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, ך final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ך AND ך̣.

The ך *w* and the ך̣ *y* are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds *u* and *i*, that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ך or ך̣ occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ך and ך̣ lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of ך̣ for ך and, see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, c.) These cases are chiefly the following:—

- a) When ך or ך̣ stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Sh-wā* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus וְיָשָׁב it has been inhabited for וְיָשָׁב or וְיָשָׁב, וְיָשָׁב he awakes for וְיָשָׁב, וְיָשָׁב for וְיָשָׁב; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עָבְרִי 'ibk-rī'

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. עֲבֵרִיָּה *'ibh-riy-yā'*) a *Hebrew*; עָשָׂה (*made*) Job 41, 25 for עָשִׂיתָ (comp. עָשִׂיתָ 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *K'thibh*). Thus the vowel substance of ו and י is blended with the preceding vowel into *one* (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in שָׁלֵן *quiet*, מַי *May* (*month*), גּוֹי *nation*, נָלַח *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *a* the ו and י mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *é*; see below, No. 2, *b*.

b) When ו or י is preceded by *vocal Sh'wâ*, and such syllables are formed as *q'wom*, *b'wo*. Hence בּוֹא *to come* for בּוֹא, קִים *to arise* for קִים. When ו and י preceded by *Sh'wâ* come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בָּכָה from בָּכִי, though we have also the regularly formed בְּרִי *fetus*; comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the י, with its homogeneous *Chîreq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Sh'wâ*, as e. g. פָּרִי from פָּרִי, really פָּרִי; ו changed into ו is often without the accent (e. g. מוֹרֵ from מוֹרֵ).

c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as קִים *surgendo* for קִים, קִים for קִים. Comp. in latin *mihî=mî*, *quum=cum*.

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, ו is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as ו or י (like *e* for *æ* § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX יְהוֹדִיעַ is written ἰουδαῖος, ἰσραήλ. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple *Sh'wâ*, e. g. יְהוֹדִיעַ *as the superiority* for יְהוֹדִיעַ Ec. 2, 13, יְהוֹדִיעַ (in some editions) for יְהוֹדִיעַ Job 20, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* יְהוֹדִיעַ=*utol* and the 1. pers. is punct. יְהוֹדִיעַ to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instead of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, *a* above) regularly in a *long* vowel. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

- a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as יִיטֵב *he is good* for יִטֵב (analogous to יִכְבֵּד), הִרְשֵׁב for הִרְשֵׁב.
- b) When a short *ä* stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal *ê* and *ô* (according to § 7, 1); thus מַעֲשֵׂיב becomes מִעֵשֵׂב *doing good*; הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹשֵׁב; עוֹלָה, עוֹלָה.¹
- c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (*ä*), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of ו and י (No. 1, b), or the substitution of ו occurs. So especially in the so-called ל"ה verbs, e. g. orig. גָּלַי = גָּלַי = גָּלַי, whilst *ä* after the rejection of ו comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to *ā*. ו stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way שָׁלָה for שָׁלָה.² On the origin of יָגֵל from יָגֵל v. § 75, 1; upon קָם as perf. of קָם § 72, 2; upon יָלַד etc. from יָלַד § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically*, i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short *a* are מַעֲשֵׂיב *using the right hand* 1 Chron. 12, 2; אֶחָדִים *I chastise them* Hos. 7, 12; שְׁלֵיטָה *I am at ease* Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה *evil*; חַי *living*, construct state חַיִּי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form מוֹת) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עֵינַי (ground-form עֵינַי) *eye*, constr. עֵינַי.

² The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) גָּלַי, but speaks *gālā*, So the LXX write שָׁלָה as Σηλᾶ. But in Arabic شَلَا is written for שָׁלָה and sounded *shālā*.

readily become short again or become *Shwā* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *i*, *u*, *é*, *o*, are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *i* and *é* by י, *u* and *o* by ו, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus יִי, וִו, יוּ, as in יִיטִיב *he does well*, הֵיכָל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. יִיטִב for יִיטִיב, גְּבֹל for גְּבוּל, קֹל for קוֹל; but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *u* in גְּבֹל is as essentially long as in גְּבוּל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written *fully*, e. g. the *o* in יִקְטֹל for יִקְטֹל.

2. The essentially long and immovable *a* (so far as it is not become *o*; see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the *ā*, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *a* is long by nature (*â*) or only tone-long (*ā*), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like מִצָּר (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghēsh fortē*, e. g. גָּנֹב *thief*; likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, c) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. מְלִבִּישׁ *garment*, אֲבִיֹן *poor*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*.

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghēsh fortē* has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or ר see § 22, 5), e. g. מִצָּן for מִצָּן *he has refused*, בֵּרַךְ for בֵּרַךְ *he has been blessed*.

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the *commencement* of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant*; and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is א (and), in certain cases for י, e. g. in אֶלֶף (§ 104, 2, c).¹ The word אֶלֶף is no exception, because the א has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end —

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף. See No. 5.

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף. See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף קָא-אֶלֶף; comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long vowel*,² whether they have the tone, as in אֶלֶף in *thee*, אֶלֶף in *book*,

¹ It may be questioned whether א in the above position be a real exception; for אֶלֶף ought probably to be pronounced *wūmā'lēk* (not *ūmā'lēk*), the א retaining its feeble *w* sound before the *Shiray*.—Tr.

² In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

קָדֹשׁ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קֶצֶב, עֵנָב *grape*, יִרְאוּ *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qā'mèš*, less frequently *Šèrè*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לָהֶם, וְלָהֶם, קֶצֶב, עֵנָב.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur more or less apparently:—

- a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*S'gholates*), as נָחַל *brook*, בֵּית *house*, יָדַב *let him increase*, from the crude forms נָחַל, בֵּית, יָדַב. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like נָחַל (Arab. *nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as *one* closed syllable.
- b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the suffixes, as קָטַלְתִּי (Arab. *qātālānī*).²
- c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (הַ—), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. טָוֶהָרָה *towards the wilderness*; however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is טָוֶהָרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.³ Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Methéggh*, viz.—

- d) In these combinations, —, —, —, as טַעַמוֹ *his taste*, יָבַדְתִּי *he will bind*, עָשָׂה *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יָבַדְתִּי 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like יָבַדְתִּי comp. § 104, 2.

where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *bikā, sifr, qāds, qātālā, 'ināb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *i* and *u* in the open syllable to *ē* and *ō* would remain unexplained.

¹ The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lāhūm, yāqām*, etc.); the Aramaic only a vocal *Shewa*, לָהֶם, וְלָהֶם, קֶצֶב, עֵנָב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, a). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of *Shewa*, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal *Shewa* upon the shifting forward of the tone.

² But as *l* is often Daggheshed, we may presume that the accented *Pätläsch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

³ Compare the effect of the *Aras* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

c) In some other forms, as יִצְחָק *yē-chā-z'qā'* (*they are strong*), מַעֲלָה *pō'ēlkhā'* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also יִצְחָק; the other case originally sounded *pō'ēlkhā*).

The first syllable in יִצְחָק, מַעֲלָה, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented — (fr. *ā*) in suffix as יִצְחָקִי, on מַעֲלָתִי and מַעֲלָתֵי (ā for —) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Sh'wā* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Sh'wā* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. לֶחֶי (*cheek*) *l'chi*, יְלִמְדוּ *yil-m'dhū'*, חָלִי (*sickness*) *ch'li*, מַעֲלָה *pō-ēlō'* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes ו, ב, כ, ל, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Sh'wā's* have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. יִצְחָק, Arab. *yāqtūlū*, בָּה, Arab. *bikā* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Méthēgh by the *Sh'wā* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllables.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,¹ as מַלְכָּה *queen*, הַשְׁבוּן *understanding*, חֲכָמָה *wisdom*, וָיָסַר *and he turned back*, וָיָקָם.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. חָכֵם *wise* and חָכֵם *he was wise*; yet of the short vowels only *Pāthāch* and *S'ghōl* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.² The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (ā, ē, ō), not the *longest* vowels (ī, ē, ū, ô). Thus with יִקְטִילֵהוּ (3d pl. impf. masc.

¹ There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēphā*, as כֶּתֶב-תֹּרָה (*kethābh*) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Méthēgh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

² See § 9, 2. Short *Chérēq* (ī) occurs only in the particles אַם, כֵּן, כֵּם, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēphā*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. **הִקְטִילָהּ**, the *i* being reduced to *ē*; with **קִמְרוּ** (2d pl. imperat. *Qāl*) the fem. is **קִמְרָהּ** (*ū* contracted into *ō*).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as **אִמִּי** *'im-mī*, **כֹּלִי** *kūl-lō*. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as **עָבְרִי**, **הִנֵּנִי**, or a long, as **שָׁמְרָה**, **רִמְרָה**.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, a.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as **קִטְלָהּ**, **וַיִּשָּׁב**, yet sometimes also *Sērē*, as **נִרְדָּהּ**, **רִיבָהּ**, and *Chölēm*, as **קִשְׁתָּהּ**. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occurring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially:—

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (vocal *Sh'wā*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. **עֲגָלָהּ** (original form *'ägälät*) *waggon*, **צִדְקָהּ** (original form *šaddāqāt*) *righteousness*, **קָטְלִי** (Arab. *qātlālū*);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, *ä* into *ā*, *i* into *ē*, *ü* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Shewās*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מָטָר (Arab. *māṭār*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מֵטָר, pl. מְטָרוֹת, *constr.* מְטָרוֹת; עֵקֶב (Arab. *‘āqīb*) *heel*, dual עֵקְבָי, עֵקְבֵי, יֵקְטֵל (Arab. *yāqtūl*), pl. יֵקְטְלוּ (Arab. *yāqtūlū*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

A-class *ä* (ē) *ā*. Shortening: *ā* (ē) *ä*, attenuation from *ä* to *i*.

I-class *i* (ē) *ē*. " *i ē ē i*.

U-class *ü ö ö*. " *ô û* (as obs. from *ô*) *ō ö ü*.

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic *ā ē ö*) to simple *Shewā* mobile.

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד *hand* is יֶד, as יְדִידָהּ *hand of God*; בֶּן *son*, בְּנֵי־מֶלֶךְ *son of the king*; כֹּל *a whole*, כְּלִיָּהֶם *the whole-of-the-people*; also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. רָקַם, רִיקָם; יָלַף, יִלְפָּה. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֵפֶר *book*, סִפְרִי *my book*; קָדֹשׁ *sanctuary*, קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*. In these cases *Šērē* (ē) passes over into *Chirēq* (i) or *S'ghôl* (ē), *Chôlēm* (ō) into *Qāmēš-chāṭūph* (ö). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Šērē* is changed back into *Chirēq*, and *Chōlēm* into *Qibbūš*, as אִם *mother*, אִמִּי *my mother*; חֹק statute, plur. חֻקִּים.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

- a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as קָטַל, קָטְלוּ *he has killed him*; מָרָה מִמָּרְהִי *my mare* from מָרָה = מָרְהִי.
- b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghē'sh fortē*, has a guttural or ר for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, a).
- c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as מָצָא for מָצָא *he has found*, for the א, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.
- d) When the syllable is in *pause*, i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Sh'wā*), or may even be entirely dropped, so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Sh'wā*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in שֵׁם (*name*), pl. שְׁמוֹת, which become שְׁמִי (*my name*), and שְׁמוֹתָם (*their names*); the second in בְּרָכָה (*blessing*), constr. בְּרִכָּה. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (כֵּן, דָּמִי; שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as יָקָר (*dear*), fem. יִקְרָה *y qārā'*; in the in-

flection of verbs, the second, as יָקָר (*he was dear*), *fem.* יָקָרָה *yāq'ra'*. Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

- a) *Qā'mēš* and *Sērē* in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דָּבָר *word*, *plur.* דְּבָרִים *great*, *fem.* גְּדוּלָה; לֵב *heart*, לִבִּי *my heart*; תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, תִּשְׁוְבוּנָה *they (fem.) will return*.
- b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a, e, o*, in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. קָטַל *kill*, *fem.* קָטְלָה *qāṭ'la'*; קָטַל *kill*, *plur.* קָטְלִים *qōṭ'lim*; יָקַטְלִי *yīq'ṭali*. The *S'ghôl* as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent *Sh'wâ*), e. g. מְלָךְ (*grdf.* מֶלֶךְ), מְלָכִי. If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as בָּרַךְ, בָּרַכְתִּי, בָּרַכְתֶּם, בָּרַכְתִּי.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *i* and the second becomes *Sh'wâ*. From דָּבָר we have in the *plur.* דְּבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ā* into *i*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal *i ô* (from *au*), as also the *ô* derived from the firm *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than *i ā*; and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter; e. g. נָקִים, נָקִימָה (see Paradigm M. *Niph.*); קָנִים *flight*, *fem.* קָנִימָה, with *suff.* קָנִימָה; מְרוֹץ *sweet*, *fem.* מְרוֹצָה. The *i* stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in רִיבָה Ps. 102, 5, כָּבֵד Jer. 31, 34, רִיבָה Ez. 20, 18, רִיבָה Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal *i — ē* and long *i — î*; see examples in § 75, 2.

NB. On the contrary, *i ā* is shortened into *ô*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ô* (*Chôlēm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ô* (*Qāmēš-châṭaph*), as יָקָם (*he will rise*), יָקָם (jussive, *let him rise*), וַיָּקָם (*and he rose*), see Parad. M. *Qal*. So also *i —* becomes a tone-long *Sērē* (*ē*), as יָקָם (*he will set up*), יָקָם (*let him set up*), and in the absence of the tone, *S'ghôl* (*ē*), as in וַיָּקָם (*and he set up*); see Parad. M. *Hiph'ûl*.

2. From a *Pāthāch* (*ā*) in a closed syllable there arises a *S'ghōl* (*ē*), through an obscuring of the sound [Umlaut]. This happens—

- a) in the closed antepenult, e. g. אֲבִירָה (*proper noun*) for אֲבִירָה; also in the closed penult e. g. יָדְכֶם *your hand* for יָדְכֶם.
- b) This is more regularly the case when *Dāghē'sh fortè* is omitted in a guttural, that has a *Qāmēṣ* under it. Thus always הָ— for הָ— (הָ—) e. g. אֲבִירָה *his brothers* for אֲבִירָה, from אֲבִירָה; הַזֵּוֹן *the vision*; כֶּזֶב *false* for כֶּזֶב, and so always with הָ. With הָ and ע the *S'ghōl* is used only where a greater shortening is required on account of the distance of the tone; hence, הַרְרִים for הַרְרִים *the mountains*, but הָרַר *the mountain*; הַזֵּוֹן *the misdeed*, but הָזֶם *the people*. Before א and ר, where a short sharpened vowel cannot so easily stand (§ 22, 1), *Qāmēṣ* is constantly used, as הַאֲבוֹת *the fathers*, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הַרְקִיעַ *the firmament* (as an exception we find הָרֹדֶם *mountain-ward*). Comp. also the interrogative הָ (הָ, הָ) in § 100, 4.

- c) in the first class of the so-called *segholate* forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from כֶּלֶב with helping *S'ghōl*, כֶּלֶב (Arab. *kelb*, and the LXX, Μελαίσεδες for מִלְכִּיזְדֶּק, יָרֵחַ with helping *Pāthāch*, יָרֵחַ. Thus in verbal forms like יִנָּל (*Jussive* of the *Hiph.* of נָלָה) with a helping *S'ghōl* for יִנָּל.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, *ā* is often attenuated into *ī*, e. g. a) with firm closing מִדּוֹ *his measure* for מִדּוֹ (sharpened); יִלְדִּיתִי *I have begotten*, יִלְדִּיתִי *I have begotten thee*,¹ cf. Ez. 38, 23, Lev. 11, 14; b) with a loose closing: הַמָּקֶם *your blood* for הַמָּקֶם; so with numerous *segholates* forms (*grdf.* מִקָּל) e. g. צִדְקִי for צִדְקִי; בְּגָדִי *constr. st. pl.* of בְּגָדִי (בְּגָדִי).

4. The *S'ghōl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

- a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of *ā* (*Qāmēṣ*) final (הָ— for הָ—): Ps. 20, 4, Is. 59, 5, 1 Sam. 28, 15.
- b) Even from the obscuring of *u*, as אַתָּם (*you*) from the original 'attum (Arab. 'antūm), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהֶם (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) lahūm. Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the *Chatephs* (—) counts for shorter and lighter than (—), and the group (—) than (—), e. g. אֶדֹם *Edom*, but אֶדֹם *Edomite*; אֶמֶת (*'mēth*) *truth*, אֶמֶת *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, plur. נֶעְלָמִים; הַזֵּוֹן *the vision*, plur. הַזֵּוֹן.

¹ Analogous to this attenuating of *ā* into *ī*, is the Latin *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; and to that of *ā* into *ē* (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called Appoggiatura (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal *Sh'wâ*, and there comes another consonant with *Sh'wâ* before it, then this latter receives, instead of the *Sh'wâ*, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always *i* (*Chîrêq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened *ä* (*Päthäch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the *i*. Thus the prefixes ב, כ, ל, before a consonant with (—) become ב, כ, ל, e. g. בְּפָרִי, כְּפָרִי, לְפָרִי; בִּיהוּדָה (from בִּיה' according to § 24, 1, a); the same with *Waw copulative* וִיהוּדָה for וִיה'. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of *ä* (or *i* weakened from *ä*) occurs frequently in certain appoggiatura in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with *Sh'wâ*. At times the first appoggiatura after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִפְּלָל *lîp-pôl* Num. 14, 3, in isolated cases also with בְּבִזְרֵךְ Jer. 17, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with *composite Sh'wâ*, then the first takes, instead of the simple *Sh'wâ*, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups —, —, — e. g. בְּאֶשֶׁר *as*, לְעַבְדָּךְ *for to serve*, לֶאֱכַל *for to eat*, לְחָלִי *for sickness*, בְּאֶשֶׁר, לְעַבְדָּךְ, לֶאֱכַל, לְחָלִי. The new vowel has *Méthègh*, according to § 16, 2, a. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed *Châfêph*, e. g. לְחַטֵּב *for לחטב*; לְאָסֵר (but also לְאֶסֵר; and even רַעֲצֹר Job 4, 2). In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* a simple *Sh'wâ* vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לְהָיוֹת *to be*, and וְהָיָה *and be ye!* (comp. וְחָיָה *and be thou!* and וְחָיָה *and live!* with *S'ghê'* of the prefix, for וְחָיָה)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṭēph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Shewā*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יַעֲמֹדוּ *yā ām'dhū'* for יַעֲמֹדוּ *they will stand*, נֶהֱפֹךְ־לָהֶם *nēhēph-khū'* for נֶהֱפֹךְ־לָהֶם *they have turned themselves*, עֹלֶה־עֹלֶה *pō'ōl'khā' (thy work)*. Comp. § 26, 3, *e*. The division should be *yā ā-m'dhū'*.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, כ, פ, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tenuis*), viz. ב, ד, נ, י, e. g. יָשָׁב *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשְׁק *and he caused to drink*, כָּטַלְתְּ *thou (fem.) hast killed*, וַיִּבֶךְ *and he wept*, יִרְדָּה *let him rule*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*. This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *S'ghôl*, but *Päthäch* under gutturals,¹ and *Chirëq* after י, e. g. וַיִּגְלֵל *and he revealed* for וַיִּגְלֵל *let it increase* for וַיִּגְלֵל *sanctuary* for קָדֵשׁ *stream* for נָחַל, וַיִּשְׁלַח *thou f. hast sent*, בֵּיתָ *house* for בֵּיתָ. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

¹ There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ג and ה, which would in that case likewise require *Dāghē'sh*. The use of וַיִּשְׁק in Prov. 30, 6 (shortened from וַיִּשְׁקֶה) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ה has not *Dāghē'sh* here.

² With the exception, however, of the א, as וַיִּשָּׂא *wild ass*, וַיִּשָּׂא *fresh grass*. Elsewhere the א loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in וַיִּשָּׂא *sin*, וַיִּשָּׂא *valley* (also וַיִּשָּׂא), וַיִּשָּׂא (Job 15, 31 *Kethibh* וַיִּשָּׂא).

³ In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghē'sh lenè* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Päthäch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly וַיִּקַּח *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from וַיִּקַּח *for to take*.) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded *before* the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that וַיִּשְׁלַח should be read *shalāach*; although such words as וַיִּשְׁלַח were always correctly sounded *sháchäth*, *náchäl* not *naächl*. Quite analogous is וַיִּחַד *yichäd* in Job 3, 6 (from וַיִּחַד *to rejoice*, see § 75, Rem. 3, d).

ever the word increases at the end, as בֵּית־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ *house-ward*, קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Pāthāch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, *b*.

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Sh'wā* also by reason of the *Pause*; see § 29, 4.

§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES; AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבָר, דְּבָרֶיךָ, קִדְשִׁי, קִדְשֵׁי, קִדְשֵׁי (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in בֵּלֶךְ, לַיְלָה, *night*, קָטַלְתָּ, עָבִדְתָּ, קָמְדְתָּ.

Connected with the principal tone is *Méthègh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Māq-qēph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penacutæ*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with —, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא, which they pronounce *bréshis bóro*.

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דָּבָר *word*, דְּבָרִים *words*, דְּבָרֶיךָ *your words*; קִדְשׁ *sanctuary*, קִדְשֵׁי *sanctuaries*; קָטַלְתָּ, קִדְשֵׁי. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

- a) When the syllable .ן (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as יאמר *he will say*, יאמר and *he said*; ילך *he will go*, ילך and *he went*.
- b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (נסוג אחור *retrogression* as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only *Šērē* can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Méthëgh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as *S'ghô'l*, e. g. לְבַר קֵן Num. 24, 22. In other instances the shortening into *S'ghô'l* really takes place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פֶּעַם *beating the anvil* Is. 41, 7, for הוֹלֵם פֶּעַם, Gen. 1, 5, 3, 19, 4, 17, Job. 3, 3, 22, 28, Ps. 5, 11, 21, 2.
- c) In *pause*. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Mäqqëph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם and *he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great *distinctive accent* stands (*Sillûq*, *Athnāch*; also *Ôlë weyôrëd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zäqëph-qātôn*, *R'biā*, *Päzër*, even with *Tiphchā* etc.) The changes are as follows:—

- a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as קָטַל, קָטַל; מִים, מִים; קָטַלָּה, קָטַלָּה; קָטַר, קָטַר (orig. form

¹ Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of *Méthëgh*.

קִשְׁר) *conspiracy*, קִשְׁר 2 K. 11, 14; אָרַח, אָרַח Jer. 22, 29. דִּבֵּר becomes in pause דִּבְר.

Yet sometimes the sharper *ā* is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghēsh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. בָּ Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. בָּר.

- b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Sh'wā* before an affirmative, it is restored again in *pause*—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטְלָה (*qā'ālā*) in *pause* קָטְלָה (*qā'ālā*); שִׁמְעִי (*šim'ū*) *pause*: שִׁמְעִי (from sing. שָׁמַע); מְלָאָה, מְלָאָה; יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹל (sing. יִקְטֹל). In segholate forms like לָחִי, לָחִי (*grdf.* לָחִי, לָחִי) the orig. *ā* returns at least as accented *S'ghōl*, thus לָחִי, לָחִי; orig. *i* as *ē*, e. g. חָצִי, in *pause* חָצִי; orig. *ō* (*ū*) as *ō*, e. g. חָלִי (*grdf.* חָלִי), in *pause* חָלִי. In analogy with forms like לָחִי etc. the shortened *impf.* יָחִי and יָחִי would become in *pause* יָחִי and יָחִי (because in the full forms like יָחִי *he will be*, and יָחִי *he will live* the *Ch'irēq* is attenuated from orig. *ā*). Here belongs also שֵׁכֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֵׁכֶם (*grdf.* שֵׁכֶם) and the pronoun אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי, as well as the restoration of orig. *ā* as *ē* before the suff. הָ— *thou, thee* e. g. דְּבָרְהָ, *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרְהָ; יִשְׁמְרָהָ, in *pause* יִשְׁמְרָהָ (on the other hand after the prepositions אֶל, לְ, אֶת), בָּהּ, לָהּ, אֵתָהּ become in *pause* בָּהּ, לָהּ, אֵתָהּ).

- c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in *pause* shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אֲנִי *I*, אֲנִי; אָתָּה *thou*, אָתָּה; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in special cases, like כָּלִי Ps. 37, 20 for כָּלִי, and also לֵעִי Job 6, 3 for לֵעִי, from לֵעִי.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *i*) into the sharper *ā* (v. supra. Remark to letter a) e. g. יָחִי for יָחִי Is. 18, 5; קָטַל Is. 83, 9; נִשְׁר Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also דָּשַׁב Is. 42, 22 and without the pause נִשְׁר Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of נִלְךָ (shortened from נִלְךָ) is נִלְךָ; comp. Lam. 3, 1 נִלְךָ; Judg. 19, 20 חָלֵן for חָלֵן. 2) the

¹ Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, c.

transition from *ā* into *ē* in the ultima; so always in the expression *לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד* (for *ēd*) for *ever and ever*. 3) the *pausal Qāmeṣ* of the *Hithpael* form (for *Ṣērê*) e. g. *יִרְחֹץ* Job. 18, 8. for *יִרְחֹץ*. 4) the restoration of a vowel which had become *Sh'wâ* to a pretonic vowel. e. g. Job. 21, 11 *יִרְחֹץ* for *יִרְחֹץ*. 5) the restoration of the *ı* dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. *בָּעִיר*, *אָרִיר* Is. 21, 12 (for *בָּעִיר*, *אָרִיר*, the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 58, 9. 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12.

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

NB. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause springs merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develope conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon rhythmical reasons of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRI- LITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. עֵמֶק *he was deep*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֲמֻק *depth*, עִמְקָא *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *wise*, חֹכֶם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qāl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. צַדִּיק *he was righteous*, צִדְקָא *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as סָקַל *to stone*, נָחַר *to bray*; and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נָנֵב *south*, אֶבֶן *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אָבֵן the Arabic has the verb-stem 'ābinā to become hard (for נָגַב Aram. *ngabh*).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in *Qāl* the *root* (שֹׁרֵשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) *letters* (viz. א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, forming the mnemonic expression אֶתָּן מֹשֶׁה וְצִלְבֵּי *Ethan, Moses and Caleb*), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.¹ We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No. 2.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root: מֶלֶךְ (*ruling in general*).

Verb-stem: מָלַךְ *he has reigned*. Noun-stem: מֶלֶךְ *king*.

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term root instead of stem is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. *Qāl*) as the stem-word.

3. These trilateral stems now generally form two syllables, as מֶלֶךְ. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a ו, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, c) become one syllable, e. g. קָם for קָמַם; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. צָר with צָרָר. But the original forms were doubtless trisyllabic, and became dissyllabic by dropping the final vowel, as קָמַל from *qātālā* (still so in Arab.); קָם (קָמַם) from *qāwāmā* (already dissyllabic in Arab. *qāmā*).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the trilateral form (e. g. יָדַם for יָדָם in verbs יָדָע). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally monosyllables (*biliteral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as אָב *father*, אָמ *mother*, אָח *brother*, show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a trilateral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

¹ See more in § 81, Rem. 1, Note 2.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root-syllable*, to designate which grammarians use the sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, e. g. $\sqrt{\text{כר}}$. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *bilateral* roots. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems דָּכָה , דָּכָה , דָּכָה have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces*, and the two stronger letters דך *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack*, Sans. *tag* = $\theta\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of triliteral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root קץ, which imitates the sound of cutting, are derived immediately קָצַץ, קָצַח, to cut off, and metaph. to decide, to judge (hence קִזְיָן Arab. qādhi, a judge); then קָצַר, קָצַע, קָצַב, with the kindred significations to shear, to mow. Related to this is the syllable קש, קס, from which is derived קָסַס to cut into, קָשַׁשׁ, קָשָׂה to pare. With a lingual instead of the sibilant קש, קד; hence קָטַב to cut down, destroy, קָטַל to hew down, to kill, קָטַף, קָטַח, to pluck off, קָטַד to hew asunder, to split. A softer form of this radical syllable is כס; hence כָּסַח to cut off, to shear off, נָכַס Syr. to sacrifice or to slay a victim. Still softer are גז and נו; hence גָּזַז to mow, to shear, גָּזַח to hew stones, גָּזַם, גָּזַל, גָּזַר to hew off, to cut off, to eat off, to graze; and so גָּדַד to cut, גָּדַד to cut off; compare also גָּדַח, גָּדַח. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, חָבַב, חָבַב to hew stones or wood, חָצַץ, חָצַץ to split, divide, חָצַץ arrow ($\alpha\chi\lambda\iota$), חָצַד to sharpen, חָצוּז, חָצוּז arrow, lightning, also חָזַח to see (comp. חָזַל, חָזַר, חָזַק, חָזַק—חָזַל, חָזַק, חָזַק, חָזַק—חָזַל, חָזַק, חָזַק, חָזַק).

The syllable דם expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed (שטם); hence: דָּם, דָּמָה, דָּמָה, Arab. دهم *to hum, to buzz*. To these add בָּרָם *to be dumb*; דָּרָם *to become mute, to be astonished*.

The root-syllable רע, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble*, in the stemwords רעד, רעל, רעם, רעש; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* (רעם), the act of *shattering* or *breaking in pieces* (רעץ, רעץ). Comp. פל, פל.

in the (trilateral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. רָדַד Arab. رَدَدَ or from other reasons. Comp. בָּבַד in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. בִּין, צִירָן. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).¹

e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter c) is sometimes so great, that *l, n, r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as צָלַץ, אָדַץ (comp. אָדַס) to *press*, צָלַק, אָדַק, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver*; *calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud*; *falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *fauz*; and the pronunciation of the English words *talk*, *walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.

f) The cases where the trilateral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the trilateral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—a) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—b) in some cases probably by combining into one word two trilateral stems, by which process even *quinteliterals* are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as קָטַלְטַל from קָטַל, פָּקַדְקַד from פָּקַד, are not regarded as quadriliteral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

¹ Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as קָטַל, פָּקַד. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as ל, ר, which are found associated, e. g. in לָרַל and רָרַל, softened from the harsher forms לָרַר, רָרַר. Comp. γπαρτός along with γπαβνός, δαδς along with εγδός, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing ש, as שֶׁלֶהֱבִיחַ *flame* (from לָהִיב), Aram. conj. *Shäph'el* שֶׁלֶהֱבִיחַ.

Rem. on a). Some forms are made by the *insertion* particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as קָטַעַם, שָׂקַטַם *to shear off, to eat off*; שֶׁפֶּטֶר = שֶׁפֶּטֶר *sceptre* (the form with ר very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from זָקַח *to glow*, זָלָחַח *hot wind*, זָלָחַח *tranquil* (from שָׁאֵן) Job 21, 23, possibly also זָלָחַח from זָחַר but comp. *Delitzsch* in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic שָׁרַיָּל *to roll*, as an expansion of the *Pa'el* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'el*) שָׁרַיָּל. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo, scindo, tundo, jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid, scid, saxadaw* (=Eng. *scatter*), *tud* (=Eng. *thud*), *jug* (=Eng. *yoke*=Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as שָׁרַיָּן *axe*, from שָׁרַיָּן *to cut* (comp. *graze*); שָׁרַיָּן *orchard*, from שָׁרַיָּן; שָׁרַיָּן *flowercup*, from שָׁרַיָּן *cup*; שָׁרַיָּן *to hobble* which *Ges.* derived from שָׁרַיָּן is by *Dietrich* referred to שָׁרַיָּן with the insertion of ר, v. Lex.

Rem. on b). So probably are compounded שָׁרַיָּן *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and שָׁרַיָּן *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. *Delitzsch* on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. *Ges. Lex.* 8th Ed. where שָׁרַיָּן is not regarded as a compound but, according to *Dietrich*, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (ضَفْدَع) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.¹ On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

¹ Comp. *Hupfeld's System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung*, in der Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, viz., by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, viz., internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process; but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I. OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי } <i>I</i> אני, in <i>pause</i> אני } 2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (את) in <i>p.</i> אַתָּה } <i>thou</i> or אַתָּה } <i>f.</i> אַתָּה (את), <i>pr.</i> אַתָּה } <i>p. אתָּה</i> 3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא } <i>he, also it</i> <i>f.</i> הִיא } <i>she, also it</i>	1. <i>com.</i> אֲנֵינוּ, in <i>pause</i> אֲנֵינוּ } <i>we</i> (נָנוּ, <i>p.</i> נָנוּ), (אֲנֵינוּ) } 2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּם } <i>ye</i> <i>f.</i> אַתְּנָה (אתְנָה; אַתְּנָה, אַתְּנָה) } 3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵמָּה } <i>they</i> <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה (הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה) }

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. First Person.

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אני which is probably shortened from it. The *former* is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;¹ from the *latter* are

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is אֲנִי, without the ending י, and in Punic *anec* (Plaut. Pœn. 5, 1, 8) or 'anekh (Plauti Pœnulus, 5. 2, 35, comp. Schröder, Phœn. Sprache, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku*. In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). **אָנִי** prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmud **אָנִי** has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *a* (comp. Aram. **אָנִי**, Arab. *ʾana*).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form **אֲנִי**, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 (*Kethibh*). The form **אֲנִי** is found only six times; e. g. Num. 32, 32. (Gen. 42, 11 in pause **אֲנִי**). In the Mishna the form **אֲנִי** alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. Second Person.

4. The forms **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּ**, **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּה**, are contracted from **אַתָּה**, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the *ṭ*, Arab. *ānta*, f. *ānti* thou, plur. *āntum*, f. *āntūna* ye. In Syriac **אַתָּה**, fem. **אַתָּה** is written, but both are pronounced *at*; in the Western Aramaic **אַתָּה** stands for both genders.

אַתָּה without *ṭ* occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, and each time as *Kethibh* with **אַתָּה** as *Qeri*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Qeri* (§ 17), the reading of the *Kethibh* may have been **אַתָּה**, as an abbreviation from **אַתָּה** (acc. to Aram. see above), for **אַתָּה** actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. 11, 15, Deut. 5, 24, Ezek. 23, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced **אַתָּה**, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *Kethibh* (e. g. Judg. 17, 2, 1 K. 14, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (**אַתָּה** § 59, 1, c). The final *i* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the *ṭ* therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Qeri* **אַתָּה**, the *Sh'wā* of which stands in the punctuation of the text (**אַתָּה**, § 17). The same final *ṭ* appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּה** (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּה** (**אַתָּה**), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, b) of **אַתָּה** (Arab. *āntūm*, Aram. **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּה**), and **אַתָּה** or **אַתָּה** (Arab. *āntūma*, Aram. **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּה**). Hence doubtless the fact that the *suff.* of the 2d pers. pl. perf. is added to the ending **אַתָּה** (instead of **אַתָּה** or **אַתָּה**). **אַתָּה** is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, being found only in Ez. 34, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others אֲנִי, and אַתָּה (for which MSS have also אַתָּה) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ex. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with אַתָּה for fem.).

III. Third Person.

6. At the end of אִנּוּ *hū* and אִנּוּ *hū*, the *h* seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with *h* is constant in the separate pronoun, and אִנּוּ becomes אִנּוּ (but אִנּוּ becomes אִנּוּ) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1).¹ (In Arab., as in Syr., they write אִנּוּ and אִנּוּ but speak *hūwa*, *hūa*, *hū*, and *hīya*, *hī*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more consonantal pronunciation of the *ו* and *י*; but the Æthiopic *we'tū* for אִנּוּ, *yē'ti* for אִנּוּ, shows that originally the *h* indicated a vowel termination (comp. Nöldeke, Ztschr. der DMG Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form אִנּוּ stands in K'thibh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the fem. אִנּוּ as if similar to the epicene use of אִנּוּ for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the punctators, whenever it stands for אִנּוּ, give it the pointing אִנּוּ, and require it to be read אִנּוּ (comp. § 17).²

7. The plural forms אִנּוּ (אִנּוּ) and אִנּוּ (after *pref.* אִנּוּ) are derived from אִנּוּ and אִנּוּ in the same manner as אִנּוּ from אִנּוּ. In Arab., where they are sounded *hūm*, *hūmma*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S'ghol stands also in the suffixes אִנּוּ and אִנּוּ (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, 5). The אִנּוּ in both forms (אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ) is of *demonstrative* nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ), Syr. *henūn*, Arab. *hūmā*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethiop. (*hōmā*) there is an *ō* or *u* appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages אִנּוּ stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous אִנּוּ 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read אִנּוּ.

8. The pronouns of the third person אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ, אִנּוּ, refer to *things* as well as persons. On their *demonstrative* meaning, see § 122, 1.

¹ In the inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2), אִנּוּ stands for אִנּוּ in line 6.

² Kautsch does not accept the common opinion (v. Lex. 8th ed.) that this use of אִנּוּ for אִנּוּ is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a*) lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b*) is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c*) is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d*) אִנּוּ occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with אִנּוּ),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally אִנּוּ was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into אִנּוּ without regard to gender.—Ed.

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 121, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns*, or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (without accent) and הִי *him and his* (from הוּא *he*), thus קָטַלְתִּירוּ *I have killed him*, קָטַלְתִּירוּ or (with *āhû* contracted to *ô*) קָטַלְתִּירוּ *thou hast killed him*, מָסְרוּ *his horse*.

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tartar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμοῦ, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es*.

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

- a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 121, 4), as in קָטַלְתִּירוּ *I have killed him*.
- b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns*, as אָבִי (*ābh-i*) *my father*, מָסְרוּ *his horse* (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus*, comp. § 124, 1, b).
- c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אִצְרִי (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me*, like Lat. *mea causa*, on the contrary הִנֵּהנִי *behold me*, Lat. *ecce me*. בֵּינִי literally *interstitium mei* “between me.”
- d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (לְ to sign of the dative, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), as לוֹ *to him* (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מִמֶּנִּי *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (ךָ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.¹

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. קָטַלְתָּ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. מִי— *me*, מִי— *my*.

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun*, both *separate* and *suffix*; fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

Sing. m. הַזֶּה } *this.* *Plur. com.* הֵלֵךְ (rarely הֵלֵךְ)
f. הַזֹּאת (הִיא, הִיא) } *these.*

The feminine form הַזֹּאת is (δ obs. fr. orig. ᾱ) for הַזֹּאת (comp. הַזֹּאת=הַזֹּאת; for the feminine ending ה, see § 80), and the forms הִיא, הִיא, which are both of rare occurrence, come from הַזֹּאת by dropping ה. In Pa. 132, 12 הִיא is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For הַזֹּאת is found Jer. 26, 6 in *Kethibh* הַזֹּאת (with article and demonstrative הַזֹּאת). הֵלֵךְ and הֵלֵךְ are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (הֵלֵךְ) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as הֵלֵךְ and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without הִיא). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

¹ That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likkie* for *little*. Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαίω=χαίω, Gr. τίς=Aeol. χίς, Lat. *quis*, and in the Hebrew itself דָּרַךְ=דָּרַךְ to drink. There is thus a strong presumption that the pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages must have had two forms, one with *k* and the other with *t*, as הַזֹּאת and הַזֹּאת, הַזֹּאת and הַזֹּאת.—Tv.

² In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d*, hence called the *demonstrative sound*, which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. הַזֹּאת) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. הַזֹּאת, הַזֹּאת, הַזֹּאת, הַזֹּאת *this*, Arab. *dhā*, *dhī*, *dhā*; Sanskr. *sa*, *sā*, *tat*; Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό; Goth. *sa*, *sō*, *thata*; Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*; Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*; Welsh *dyna*; *hyn*, *hyna*; *hwn*, *hwn*, etc.

A secondary form **וְ** is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*); and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36). Cf. § 122, 2.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (**הַ**, **הָ**, **הַ**, **הָ**, **הַ**, **הָ**) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 122, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are **זֶה** Gen. 24, 25, 27, 19; **זֶה** *fem.* Ez. 36, 35, and shortened **זֶה** *masc.* in Judg. 6, 20, 1 Sam. 14, 1, 17, 26; but *fem.* in 2 K. 4, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form *‘alladhī*, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 122, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.

THE ARTICLE.

By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form **הַ**, with a short sharp-spoken *ä* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghē’sh fortē*), e. g. **הַשֶּׁש** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river* for **הָיָאֵר** (see § 20, 3, *b*).

When, however, the article (**הַ**) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ä* (*Pä’thäch*) is mostly lengthened into *ā* (*Qā’mēs*) or *ā* (*S’ghô’l*).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural **א** and before **ר** (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*) the vowel of the article is always lengthened into *Qā’mēs*, as **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֵחֶר** *the other*, **הָאִמָּה** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאֵשׁ** *the light*, **הָאֵלֶּהּ** *the foot*, **הָאֶרֶץ** *earth* becomes **הָאֶרֶץ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with **ח** and **ק**, less often with **ע**— or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains — , the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Pä'thäch* is either slightly lengthened to — or fully to — . The following cases are to be distinguished:—

A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than $\bar{a}$ (—) or $\bar{o}$ (—), then—1) before the stronger ח and ה , the article regularly remains ה , as הַחַיָּה *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, but with some rare exception, as in הַחַי Gen. 6, 19, הַחַיִּים Is. 17, 8 and always in הַחַיִּים , הַחֹדֶשׁ , *those*;—2) before ע *Pä'thäch* becomes generally *Qä'mēs*, as הַעֵין *the eye*, הַעִיר *the city*, הַעֲבָד *the servant*, pl. הַעֲבָדִים . (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9, Prov. 2, 17.)

B) But when the guttural is followed by $\bar{a}$ (—), then—1) before ח and ע the article is always ה , provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is הָ , e. g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in *pause*), הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*, on the contrary הַהָרִים *the mountains*, הַעֲוֹן *the guilt*;—2) before ח the article is always ה , without regard to the place of the tone, as הַחֲכָם *the wise*, הַחֲזָק *the strong*, הַחֵג *the festival*, הַחַי *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before ח , as הַחֲלִי *the sickness*, הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*. On the contrary הַחֲרָשָׁה according to A, 1.)

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Bem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phœnician) article ה seems to have originated from הָל , the ל of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in הַלֵּךְ from הָלֵךְ § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds هـ (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedāwīn¹), the ل of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like *s* and *t*, and before *l*, *n* and *r*; e. g. *'al-Qor'ān* but *'as-sana* (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אַלְמוֹדָד Gen. 10, 26, in אַלְמוֹדָדִים 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אַלְמוֹדָדִים 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

¹ See Wallin in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. VI, S. 195, 217.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mocha*¹, but comp. *Lex.* 8th ed.), and perhaps also in שַׁלְיָה *icq*, *hail*=שַׁלְיָה (Arab. *gibs*) Ex. 13, 11, 13, 38, 22, and perhaps also שַׁלְיָה² in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions בְּ, לְ, and the ׀ of comparison (§ 102, 2, b) come before the article, the ׀ is dropped by contraction, and the preposition³ takes its points (§ 19, 3, b, and § 23, 4), as בְּשָׁמַיִם in the *heaven* for בְּשָׁמַיִם, לְעָם to the *people* for לְעָם, בְּהָרִים in the *mountains*. Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2 K. 7, 12 the *Massora*, in Q⁴ requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with בְּ, the ׀ remains in בְּשָׁמַיִם Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without ׀, as שָׁמַיִם Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With וְ (and), the ׀ always remains, as וְעָם and the *people*.

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers*, viz., שֶׁ *who, which*. In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have שְׁ (with the ׀ elided and the ׀ assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely שְׁ Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once שְׁ before ׀ Judg. 6, 17 (else שְׁ before gutturals), and before ׀ even שְׁ⁴ Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 123, 1. On the signification see *Lex.* 8th ed.

¹ So also ἐλέφας=elephant is most likely derived from the Sanskrit *idhas* (elephant), with the Semitic article בְּ or לְ prefixed.—Tr.

² Arab. *alqaum* with the signification of *melitia* (*Heerbann*).

³ The prep. בְּ, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes בְּ, as in בְּשָׁמַיִם in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual בְּשָׁמַיִם בְּ from the *heavens*.—Tr.

⁴ In Phœnician the full form שֶׁ does not occur, but שְׁ, esp. in the later Ph. (*Plaut. Pœn.*) pronounced *sa, su, si*, and שֶׁ (pron. *asse*=שֶׁ, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), *Schröder's Phœn. Sprache*, p. 162—66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the שְׁ has become quite predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is *מִי* *who?* and (about things) *מָה* *what?*

According to Olshausen *מָה* *what?* was originally *מַה*, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms *מַה*, *מָה* etc. (with *Dāghēsh fortē conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that *a*) in closest connection stands *מַה* *mā* with *Māqqēph* and *Dāghēsh fortē conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as *מַה* *what to thee?* and even in one word, as *מַה* *what to you?* Is. 3, 15. *מַה* *what is this?* Ex. 4, 2;—*b*) before gutturals in close connection with *Māqqēph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Pāthāch* with the *Dāghēsh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1)—so especially before *מ*, and (Gen. 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before *מ*,—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ā* is lengthened into *Qā'mēs* comp. § 35, 1,—so always before *מ* and *מ*,—or only slightly lengthened into *S'ghōl*, especially before *מ*, *מ*, *מ* (before *מ* however also *מַה*). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā'mēs* and then it stands *מַה* or *מַה* the latter especially before *מ*, *מ* when *Māqqēph* follows. The longer forms *מַה* and *מַה* also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Māqqēph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then *מַה* stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also *מַה* Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon *מַה* in the combination *מַה*, *מַה* and even *מַה* 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, *d*). *c*) in great pause *מַה* stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (*מַה* in very rare cases only). On the other hand *מַה* stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as *מַה* *קול* *וְגו'* *what voice, etc.*? 1 Sam. 4, 6; 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form *מַה*, *מַה* (see under *מַה* in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both *מִי* and *מָה* occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of *whoever*, *whatever*; see § 123, 3.

CHAPTER II

THE VERB.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

- a) *Primitives*, representing the simple stem, e. g. מָלַךְ *to reign*.
- b) *Verbal derivatives*, those derived from *primitives*, e. g. צָדַק *to justify*, הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self*, from צָדַק *to be just*; usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).
- c) *Denominatives*, those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אָהַל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ *to take root* and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *a root*.

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative; though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לָבָן *to be white*, hence לָבַיִת *a brick*, and hence again לָבַן *to make bricks*; from הִפְתֵּן *to be prolific* comes דָּג *a fish*, and hence again דָּגַג *to fish*.

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect*, in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qāl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as קָטַל *he*

has killed, כָּבַד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.¹ From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle*. Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive*, as קָטַל, also קָטַל, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *qāṭl, qūṭl, qūṭl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qāṭāḏ, qāṭūḏ, qāṭūḏ*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is י, the full stem appears only in the second form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. שָׁבַח *to turn*, of which the 3d person Perf. is שָׁבַח *he turned*; also most stems with middle י, e. g. דָּיַן *to judge*.

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qāl*, are formed, according to an *unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives*, each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, לָמַד *to cause to learn, to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, שָׁכַב *to cause to lie, to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, שָׁפַט *to contend in judgment, to litigate*. In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative verbs*, e. g. G. *fallen, fällen* = E. *to fall, to fell*, G. *trinken, tränken* = E. *drink, drench*, L. *lactēre* (to suck), *lactāre* (to give suck); *jacēre* (to throw), *jacēre* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεινῶω. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*² (the Heb. grammarians call them בְּקִיּוּטִים i. e. *formations*, more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

¹ For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus לָמַד *to learn*, prop. *he has learned*.

² The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל); comp. G. *Kegen, legen; fallen, fallen*. E. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*; partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants קָטַל, קָטַל and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (קָטַל, comp. E. *to speak, to bespeak; to count, to recount; to bid, to forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as קָטַל. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramæan this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable נָא, נָא. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number and arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qāl* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (בְּרִיחַ *heavy*, because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. קָל *he has done*.¹ Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qāl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
1. Qāl,	קָטַל <i>to kill.</i>	(wanting)
2. Nīph'āl,	נִקְטַל <i>to kill one's self; also passive.</i> ²	

¹ This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for נִקְטַל, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament, but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in נִקְטַל, נִקְטַל. The Paradigm קָטַל, in common use since the time of Dans, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages, inasmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָטַל) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in *Qāl*, and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

² Comp. § 51, 2 d.

<i>Active.</i>		<i>Passive.</i>
3. Pi'el,	שָׁח <i>to massacre.</i>	4. Pū'el, שָׁח.
5. Hiph'il,	הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill.</i>	6. Hōph'el, הִקְטִיל.
7. Hithpā'el,	הִתְקַטֵּל <i>to kill one's self.</i>	(Hōthpā'el, הִתְקַטֵּל.)

There are *several other less frequent* conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus:—1. *Qāl*. 2. *Pi'el* and *Pū'el*. 3. *Pō'el* and *Pō'al* (§ 55, 1). 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hōph'el*. 5. *Hithpā'el* and *Hōthpā'el*. 6. *Hithpō'el* (§ 55, 1). 7. *Niph'al*. 8. *Hithpā'el* (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. *Pi'el* (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into *three* classes:—1. The intensive *Pi'el*, with the analogous form *Hithpā'el*;—2. The causative *Hiph'il*, and its analogous forms *Shāph'el*, *Tiph'el*;—3. The reflexive and passive *Niph'al*.

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),¹ besides an *Imperative*, (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 125—129), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the *Imperfect* (see § 48).

¹ See note on § 47. Gesenius, like other Hebraists, called the tenses the *Preterite* and the *Future*; but since Ewald adopted the names *Perf.* and *Imperf.* instead, Bödiger and most of the present Orientalists have followed the example, which therefore may now be accepted as the most approved style; though one may not be able to see clearly any decided advantage in the change of terminology, and hence the name *Future* is used in my Heb. Lexicon, as being more convenient. The truth is, that the well-known difficulty about the Hebrew tenses remains practically the same on either system.—Tv.

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. . . .	3 c. ר . . .
3 f. הָ . . .	
2 m. תָּ . . .	2 m. תָּם . . .
2 f. תָּ . . .	2 f. תָּן . . .
1 c. תָּ . . .	1 c. נָ . . .

Imperfect.

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. . . . י	3 m. י . . . י
3 f. . . . ת	3 f. תָּה . . . ת
2 m. . . . ת	2 m. י . . . ת
2 f. יָ . . . ת	2 f. תָּה . . . ת
1 c. . . . א	1 c. . . . נ

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb*, are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz.—

- a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb*, §§ 62—65)

- b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in **נָגַשׁ**, **נָגַב**, **סָבַב**.
 c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent or feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in **יָשַׁב**, **קָם**, **מָצָא**, **נָלַח**.

NB. The letters of the old Paradigm **פָּעַל** are used in naming the letters of the stem, **פ** denoting the first radical, **ע** the second, and **ל** the third. Hence the expressions, *verb* **פָּעַל** for a verb whose first radical is **פ** (*primæ radicalis פ*); *verb* **לָעַל** for one whose third radical is **ל** (*tertiæ radicalis ל*); *verb* **פָּעַע** (**ע** doubled) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (*mediæ radicalis geminatur*).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. **רָצַח** to kill, **רָבַר** to be heavy, **רָפַן** to be small.

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under *Qāl* the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĀL.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in *Qāl* is **רָצַח**, with a short *ä* (*Päthäch*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs*. There is also a form with *ē* (*Šērē*), and

another with *ō* (*Chō'lem*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. כָּבֵד *to be heavy*, קָטָן *to be small*. Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as מָלֵא *to fill* (Est. 7, 5), מִלֵּא *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem. 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as קָרַב and קָרַב *to approach*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example קָבַד shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghē'sh lenē*.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive¹ meaning depends on it. The *Qā'mā* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ā* (comp. Arab. *qāṭlā*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Methēgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*) it becomes vocal *Sh'wā* on the shifting of the tone, as קָטַן. In Aramæan it wholly disappears in the root itself, as קָטַל=Heb. קָטַל.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qāl:—רָמַד *to cover with pitch*, from רָמַד *pitch*; מָלַח *to salt*, from מָלַח *salt*, v. § 38, 2, c.

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*affirmatives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*² or a *verbal adjective*, but ex-

¹ The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qāṭlā, qātūlā*; consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) *q* in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē, ā* to *ō*.

² On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as מָלַח *he was full*, and *full*; קָטַן *he was small*, and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (קָטַל), but yet with קָטַל may be compared the nominal form מָטַל, though generally it is expressive of quality, as חָכַם *wise*, זָהָב *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d pers. sing. masc. Perfect; as קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were *killing-thou*, or *killer-thou*, a *killer wast thou*, קָטַל אָתָּה), יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרָאוּ *fearing were ye* (for יָרָאוּ אַתֶּם). In the second pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְתָּ *we have killed* for קָטַל אָנֹכִי. In the first person sing. קָטַלְתִּי *we have*, which probably by virtue of an exchange of כ for ח (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from אָנֹכִי.¹ In the third person, הִיא (originally הִיא, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2), and הָ (orig. הָ, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *ûnā* as termination of the masc. pl. of nouns in written Arabic) is a sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek; e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi*, εἰμί, Doric εἰμι (for εἶμι) *I am*, where the ending μί belongs to ποί and μέ; Sans. *asi*, Dor. εἶσι *thou art*, where σι is identical with σύ; Sans. *asti*, εἶσι *he is*, where τί answers to the pronoun τό, etc. But the etymology in all these languages (except in Welsh) is more obliterated than in Hebrew. This is partly true also of inflection in the other Semitic languages; e. g. 1st pers. Arab. *qatalû*, Syr. *qetleth*, where the characteristic *i* is lost.

2. The characteristic *Päthäch* of the second syllable becomes *Shewâ* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but in pause קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the *Päthäch* remains in the tone syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; in pause קָטַלְתָּ etc.) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qāmēz* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone is reduced to *Shewâ*, thus; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E*, falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A*, generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramæan), the *E sound*, which passes over into *Päthäch*, as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

¹ See Note to § 33, 3 by Dr. Davies.—Rödiger held that the demonstrative הָ was inserted before the simple germ of the pronoun (הָ) as if to form הָאֲנִי after the analogy of הָאֲנִי; others (*Gesenius, Ewald*) maintained that הָאֲנִי, הָאֲנִי may have been ancient forms actually in use for אָנֹכִי. The explanation given above, as adopted by *Kautzsch* from *Olshausen*, is much simpler.—Ed.

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Sērē*, and not at all the *Chīrēq* shortened from *Sērē*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems ל"א (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. חִבְּקוּ *she cleaves* (not חִבְּקוּהָ, Job 29, 10; comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23, Job 41, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שָׁבַן Deut. 33, 12 (but שָׁבַן without the pause Is. 32, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the *ā* under the second radical sometimes passes over into (—), in one example also into (—), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus שִׁאֲלִיתִי *I have asked him* 1 Sam. 1, 20, שִׁאֲלִיתָ *ye have asked* 1 Sam. 12, 13; 25, 5; Job 21, 29; יִרְשָׁתָם *ye possess* Deut. 4, 1, 22; יִרְשָׁתָם Deut. 17, 4; יִרְשָׁתָם Deut. 19, 1; יִלְדִיתִי *I have begotten thee* Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12, Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); יִלְדִיתָ Mal. 3, 20. The *ī* in these forms may be simply an attenuated *ā* (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E*.

3. In verbs *middle O*, Chó'le'm is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as יִרְדָּתָ *thou hast trembled*, יִכְלִי in *pause* for יִכְלִי *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, Chó'le'm becomes Qāmēq-cha'tá'ph, as יִקְלָתִי *I have prevailed over him* Ps. 13, 5, יִקְלָתָּ (see § 49, 3) and *thou wilt be able* Ex. 18, 23.

4. Uncommon forms:¹ *Sing. 3. fem.* in ח— (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. אָזְלָה *it has gone* Deut. 32, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, a); so with stems ל"ח partly in the form ח— (as often w. verbs ל"א, § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of — bef. the pleon. ending ח—, e. g. גָּלְחָה § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. 31, 5 גְּבִרְתָּ acc. to Aram. orthog. for גְּבִרְתָּ.—2. *masc.* חָח (differing only orthographically) for ח, as גְּבִרְתָּ *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still a *Yôdh* at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as יִלְכָתִי Jer. 31, 21 (which really means יִלְכָתִי pointed as if without י, cf. אָזִי in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form קָטַלְתִּי always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, c).—1. *com.* sometimes without *Yôdh*, as יִרְדָּתָ in Ps. 140, 13, Job 42, 2, 1 K. 3, 48, Ezek. 16, 59. This, however, is found only in the K'thîbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. *fem.* קָטַלְתָּ (comp. Aram. 1st pers. חָתַלְתִּי); the Q'rî has the full form.—*Plur. 2. fem.* חָח (according to others חָח) Amos 4, 3 (as ח follows it may be merely *dittography*; but cf. חָח § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending ח (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as יִדְעוּ *they know* Deut. 3, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. 26, 16, or with a superfluous נ (according to Arabic orthography

¹ Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasms, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as מִלְעֵל Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with מִ see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the affirmatives הַ (הָ), הִי, הֵן, which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'el* (e. g. מִלְעֵל); with the others it is *Mitra'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—a) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Sh'wā* (—), is restored, as מִטְרָא for מִטְרָה (מִטְרָה f. מִטְרָה), מִטְרָא for מִטְרָה (מִטְרָה f. מִטְרָה);—b) in certain cases after *Waw consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĀL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in Qāl מִטְרָא, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 133), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as לְמִטְרָא *for to kill* (§ 132, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in Qāl מִטְרָא, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 131).¹

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Inf. constr. and the inflexibility of the Inf. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chō'lem* unchangeable, but the former has *Chō'lem* changeable (hence with suff. מִטְרָא *qō'li'*).

Besides מִטְרָא, the Inf. Qāl has also the following unusual forms:—

- a) מִטְרָא, e. g. שָׁכַב *to lie down* Gen. 34, 7, שָׁכַב *to sink* Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form מִטְרָא becomes מִטְרָא or by attenuating *ā* into *i* מִטְרָא, e. g. מִטְרָא Job 7, 19.

¹ In the Paradigms, the *Inf. constr.*, as the predominant form, is put before the other, under the name of Infinitive κατ' ἐξοχήν.

b) קָטְלָהּ and, attenuated from it, קָטְלָהּ; קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ (feminine forms from קָטַל and קָטַל mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings); as קָטְלָהּ to trespass, קָטְלָהּ to hate, קָרְבָהּ to approach Ex. 36, 2, קָטְלָהּ to pity Ez. 16, 5. But see Gen. 19, 16 קָטְלָהּ (orig. *ā* inflected into *ē*); comp. also Is. 6, 11.

These rare forms are more in use as verbal nouns (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin.* constr. with the preposition לְ, as לְקַטֵּל (for to kill) *interficiendo*, *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל (for to fall) *ad cadendum*.

The לְ is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghēsh lenē*, viz., לְנַפֵּל *lin-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also לְקַטֵּל. On the contrary, בִּנְפֹל *bin-phōl* Job 4, 13, קִנְפֹל *kin-phōl* 2 Sam. 3, 34, where the prepositions בְּ and קִ are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive; and by way of exception it is so also with לְ, as לְקָרוֹשׁ וּלְקָרוֹץ Jer. 1, 10. לְשָׁדִיר 47, 4 and according to some לְסַבֵּב Num. 21, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĀL.

1. The groundform of the Imperative קָטַל (קָטַל) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 130, Rem. 2), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 127, 3, c); and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as אַל תִּקְטַל (not קָטַל) *kill thou not*, Lat. *ne occidas*, see § 128, 2, b. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative,² but the reflexive Niph'al and Hithp'al have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

¹ The *Inf. absol.* also is occasionally used, like the Greek Infinitive, for the Imperative (§ 131, 4, b). Upon the infinitive in general comp. Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffh. 1874).

² An Imper. is found twice (Ez. 32, 19, Jer. 49, 8) in *Hoph'al*, but with a reflexive meaning rather than a passive.

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (הַ—paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form קָטַל (also קָטַל; before *Māqqēph* -קָטַל), there is also one with *Pāthāch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ā* in the perfect, as קָטַל *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 2 Sam. 13, 5; in *pause* קָטַל. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and maso. plural (which have the *Sh'wā vocal*, as קָטַל, קָטַל; therefore קָטַל, without a *Dāghēsh lenē*; comp. however קָטַל Jer. 10, 17, and in the same combination קָטַל Is. 47, 2) an *ō* (Qā'mēṣ-*chātūph*) instead of the *ī*, as קָטַל *draw ye* Ex. 32, 20, קָטַל *reign thou (fem.)* Judg 9, 10. This throwing back of original *ū* of the 2d syllable (for *ō* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *ī* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get קָטַל 1 K. 8, 26; from קָטַל=קָטַל etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in *Pause* קָטַל Is. 23, 12 (even outside of *pause* קָטַל 1 Sam. 23, 8 in *Kethibh*); from קָטַל=קָטַל Joel 2, 21.

3. In the form קָטַל, the הַ— is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in קָטַל *hear ye (fem.)* for קָטַל Gen. 4, 23. The anomalous קָטַל *call ye (fem.)* for קָטַל Ex. 2, 20 ought perhaps to be read קָטַל, as it is in Ruth 1, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.¹

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

¹ The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect*; and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded, ended and past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming, unfinished and continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin Imperfect). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past,

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre-fixed* (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (קטל), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the affirmatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the affirmatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (י, נ, א, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the affirmatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1st pers. אקטל, plur. נקטל, א is an abbreviation of אֶנִּי, י of נִהְיֶה; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms 'äqtül and näqtül; the י of the 1. plur. is therefore attenuated from *a* (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghöl* of the 1. sing. may be explained from the predilection which the א has for this sound.¹

In the 2d pers. sing. the נ in נקטל (orig. form näqtül) is from נָתַתָּה, the י — in נקטלי is the sign of the feminine, as in נקטלי thou (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2d pers. plur. the ו (more fully וָ, see Rem. 4 below) in נקטלו is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine*;²

present and future) is quite foreign.—This Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 125—29.

¹ According to *Kimchi* the *Seghöl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in אקטל and נקטל, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced *iqtöl*.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *än, ü*. It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. qetalün, fem. qetalên; in Arabic, mas. qätälü, fem. qätälnä; in Eth. qätälü, qätälä.

while **הָ** (for which also **הַ**) in **הַקָּטָנָה** is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic **־הָ**) or is borrowed from **הֵנָּה** *they or those (fem.)*, and **אַתָּה** *you (fem.)*.

In the 3d person the preformatives (**י** in the masc. **יִקְטֹל**,¹ Grdf. *yāqtūl*, plur. **יִקְטְלוּ**, Grdf. *yāqtūlū*; **ה** in fem. **תִּקְטֹל**, plur. **תִּקְטְלוּ**), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The **י** is probably allied to the original feminine-ending **־הָ** of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the affirmative **יִקְטֹל** and **תִּקְטֹל** see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shewā* before an accented affirmative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented affirmative **הָ**. Therefore **הַקָּטָנָה**, **יִקְטֹל**, **תִּקְטֹל** (*pause הַקָּטָנָה* etc.), **הַקָּטָנָה**.

Rem. 1. The final *ō*, leng. from *ū*, is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infin. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—a) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions;—b) Before *Māqqēph* it becomes *Qāmēṣ-chāṭuph*, e. g. **וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם** and *he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32;—c) It becomes vocal *Shewā* before the affirmatives **וְ** and **י** (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long *y* instead of *Shewā*: **יִשְׁפְּטֵי הֵם** Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 b), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way **יִשְׁפְּטֵי הֵם** Ruth 2, 8; **יִשְׁפְּטֵי הֵם** (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps **יִשְׁפְּטֵי** and **יִשְׁפְּטֵי** (for **יִשְׁפְּטֵי** etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst **יִשְׁפְּטֵי** Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for **יִשְׁפְּטֵי** (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these affirmatives, the pointing becomes *y*, because it stands close before the pause, e. g. **יִשְׁפְּטֵי הֵם** *yish-pū'ū* (they were judging) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chōlēm* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like **קָטַל**. *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take *ā* (*Pā'thäch*) in the *Impf.*, as **יִגְדֹּל** to be great, **יִקְטֹן** to be small, **יִקְטֹן**. Sometimes

¹ The usual derivation of the **י** from the **י** of the pronoun **יֵהָא**, analogous to **יֵשָׁב** from **יֵשֵׁב** (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the **י** preformative of the plural. *Rödiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya?*) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yēh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yōdh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ā* intransitive; e. g. יִפְצֹר *he will cut off, will reap*; יִפְצֹר *he will be cut off*; i. e. will be short. So also וַיִּשָּׁב, Impf. *ō*, to subdue Ex. 17, 13, Impf. *ā*, to be subdued Job 14, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification; e. g. יִשָּׁק and יִשָּׂק *he will bite*, יִרְחֹץ and יִרְחֹץ *he is inclined* (but. cf. Job 40, 17). In the irregular verbs וָעָ and some נָע, a changeable *ē* (*Sere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in יָתַן for יָתַן *he will give* (יָתַן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Imperfect *A*, Imperfect *E*.

3. For the 3d plur. fem. תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2d pers., the form תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה, as in West. Aram. Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. יִצְטַרְרָה *they shall arise* Dan. 8, 22; comp. Gen. 30, 38, 1 Sam. 6, 12. In several instances תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה seems to have been used improperly for the 3d pers. fem. or 2d masc. singular, as תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה (for which תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה ought probably to be read) Judg. 5, 26 and Obad. 13 (for 2 masc. sing., acc. to *Olsh.* mutil. fr. יִתְשַׁלֵּחַ); comp. Job 17, 16, Is. 28, 3.¹—In the Pentateuch (mostly) נָ (nā) occurs in place of נָ, especially after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2); e. g. Ex. 1, 18, 19, 15, 20, in Arabic always nā. Acc. to Elias Levita תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה 2 Sam. 13, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. 16, 50) the anomalous form תִּקְשְׁלֶנָּה with נָ inserted, after the manner of verbs עָ"ע and עָ"ר (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5); which *Olshausen* regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in נָ appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending נָ, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as יִלְכְּצוּן *they gather* Ps. 104, 28, יִרְגְּצוּן *they tremble* Ex. 15, 14, תִּשְׁמְעוּן *ye shall hear* Dent. 1, 17. But it is not confined to this position; see e. g. Ps. 11, 2 יִרְדְּכוּן (comp. 4, 3, Gen. 18, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. 8, 12, 1 Sam. 9, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. 26, 11 יִרְבּוּן יִרְבּוּן יִרְבּוּן *they see not; may they see and be ashamed*. This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.² This original ending נָ is the common one in Aramaean and Arabic (Old Arab. *ānā*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with נָ appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem. 4) יִשְׁמְעוּן Jer.

¹ By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energicus I* with the ending *ānnā* in Arabic).

² It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn* where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. 8, 38, 43; comp. 2 Chr. 8, 29, 33.—1 K. 12, 24, 2 K. 11, 5; comp. 2 Ch. 9, 4, 23, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for מִשְׁכָּן caused by the preceding מִשְׁכָּן).

5. In like manner מִשְׁכָּן has a longer form with final ן , viz., מִשְׁכָּנָן , which is also the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (old Arab. *maḥ*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as מִשְׁכָּנָן Ruth 2, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. 1, 14, Ruth 3, 4, 18, Jer. 31, 22, Is. 45, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of $\bar{o}$ which had become *Sh'wā* in the forms מִשְׁכָּנָן etc. v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with $\bar{a}$ restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into $\bar{a}$ e. g. יִנְדְּלֵי , יִנְדְּלֵי . This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no affirmative, e. g. יִנְדְּלֵי in *pause* יִנְדְּלֵי ; but the fuller forms in ן and ין —keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels $\bar{u}$ and $\bar{i}$ in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods*, which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.¹

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. 14, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yāqtūlū*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*;—*b*) a

¹ In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 126, 5).

Jussive, *yāqtūl*; and—c) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yāqtūllānā* and *yāqtūllān* (in pause *yāqtūllā*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long *ā* הָ, attached to the 1st person, as in אֶשְׁמְרֶה from שָׁמַר; comp. the הָ directive of the noun § 69, 2, a. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending הָ has the tone wherever it is taken by the affirmatives וְ and יִ—; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qāl* אֶשְׁמְרֶה *I will observe*, in *Pi'el* נִתְחַלֵּם *let us break asunder* Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before הָ, as in *Hiph'il* אֶזְכֹּרֶה *I will praise*. Finally (as before *ū* and *i*) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרֶה becomes in pause אֶשְׁמְרֶה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice הָ takes the place of הָ, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte conjunc.*). The הָ is attached to the 3d person: Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Q'ā*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although הָ may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is הָ Deut. 33, 16 (for הָ = תָּבָא). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the הָ may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action*; and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 128).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So יִקְטֹל as Ind. means *he will kill*, but as Jussive *let him kill*. Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hiph'il, as in Juss. יִקְטֹל, Ind. יִקְטֹל. It is found in Qāl and Hiph'il of verbs עָזַר, as Jussive יִזְמַח and יִמָּח, Ind. יִמָּח and יִמָּח; and in all the conjugations of verbs לָהַךְ, where after the removal (*apocope*) of the ending הָ— in Qāl and Hiph'il monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf. apoc.*), e. g. Qāl, Ind. יִגְלוֹ, Juss. יִגְלוֹ; Hiph. Ind. יִגְלוֹ, Juss. יִגְלוֹ; but also in Pi'el יִצַּר from Indic. יִצַּר. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the Indicative, only that the ending הָ cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., הִמְחִיר, הִמְחִיר, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. הִמְחִירָהּ as Indicative in Jer. 38, 15, as Jussive in Jer. 41, 8.

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative*, only that in Jussive the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the Jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 128, 2.

5. The *Imperative*, as it is allied in form and meaning to the Imperfect, is also lengthened (by הָ—) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -an, in pause -ā). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qāl of the strong verb, as שָׁמַר, שָׁמְרָה (*shöm'-rā'* like קָטַל *qāṭli*, § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou*; שָׁכַב, שָׁכְבָה *lie thou down*; the shortened *Imp.* in verbs לָהַךְ, as in Pi'el נָלַךְ for נִלְכָה. In Hiph'il the *i* of the 2d syll. is reduced to *e*, when the syll. is closed e. g. הִקְטֵל; but the *i* is retained in open syllables e. g. הִקְטִיל (both cases exactly as in jussive). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect*. The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as קָמָה קָמָה *stand up*, קָמָה קָמָה *up! give, תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן give!*

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 126, 127; compare Note ¹, § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew¹ tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K. 20, 1: *In those days Hezekiah sickened* (Perf.) . . . *and Isaiah . . . came* (Impf. **וַיָּבֹא**) *to him, and said* (Impf. **וַיֹּאמֶר**) *to him, etc.* Just the reverse in Is. 7, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. **וַיָּבִיא**) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since, etc.* 18 v. *And it will happen* (Perf. **וַיִּהְיֶה**) *on that day . . .* This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw*,² which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wāw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2. The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—a) regularly prefixed with *Pä'thäch* and a *Dāghē'sh fortē* in the next letter,

¹ The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the trans-jordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mēsha' has it (see § 2, 2).

² This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec.* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *impf. consec.*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *Wāw copul.*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw converseive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and *vice-versa*).

as **וַיַּקְטֹל** and *he killed*, but with *Qā'mēš* before the **א** of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as **וַיַּקְטֹל** and *I killed* (the preform. **י** with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as **וַיַּדְבֵּר** and **וַיַּהֲרִי**, see § 20, 3, *b*);—*b*) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hiph'il* **וַיַּקְטֹל** (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in **וַיָּקָם**, Jussive **וַיָּקָם**, with *Wāw consecutive* **וַיָּקָם** and *he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).¹ But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (*û* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*) is not usual, and the apocope in verbs **לֹא־** occurs much seldomer, e. g. always **וַיָּקָם** (def. **וַיָּקָם**) and *I arose*; *Hiph.* **וַיֵּרָא**; **וַיֵּרָא** and *I saw* (rather oftener than **וַיֵּרָא**). But on the contrary we oftener find, specially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in **הִי**— used here, e. g. **וַיֵּשְׁלַח** and *I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7—11.—See more in § 129.

NB. This **י** is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wā*). The close connection of this *wā* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as *ā* could not stand in an open syllable; comp. **בְּמִדָּה**, **בְּמִדָּה**, **בְּמִדָּה** (for **בְּמִדָּה**), where the prepositions **בְּ**, **בְּ**, **בְּ** are connected with **מִדָּה** in a similar way.

The encounter of numerous *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not lead to the supposition of a close relationship between the two moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (or the shifting of the tone) is occasioned by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, and is only accidentally similar to the form of the Jussive, where the shortening is based on the character of the form itself.²

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect*, by which the Perfects are

¹ Also the plural forms in **וְ**, occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive*, but comp. **וְיִרְיבוּ** Judg. 8, 1, 11, 18, Am. 6, 3, Ez. 44, 8, Deut. 4, 11, 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in **וְ**— never occurs after *Wāw consecutive*.

² The opinion of earlier grammarians, according to which **וַיַּקְטֹל** is an abbreviation and contraction from **וַיַּקְטֹל הָיָה** (= **וַיַּקְטֹל**) it was (that) he killed, is in every respect erroneous, and now obsolete.—Equally unfounded is the opinion of some that it is a contraction of **וַיַּקְטֹל וַיַּהֲרִי**.

placed as the future sequents of actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (ו, וי, וְ e. g. 2 K. 7, 4, וְ), e. g. וְהָיָה (after an Impf.) and it happens—it will happen; yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. וְהָלַכְתִּי *I went*, consec. form וְהָלַכְתָּ (coordinate with another Perf. consec., which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) and *I will go* Judg. 1, 3; וְהִבְדִּילָהּ, consec. וְהִבְדִּילָהּ and it shall divide Ex. 26, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *i* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 126.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qāmēz* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Methēgh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med. ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ō* e. g. וְהָלַכְתָּ Exod. 18, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1st pers. pl. וְהָלַכְתִּי Gen. 34, 16;—*b*) generally at least in Qal in verbs *lām* and *lām*, e. g. וְהָלַכְתָּ Ex. 26, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc.; but before a following *ā* the vowel, long by contraction in the Perf. Qāl of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וְהָלַכְתָּ Gen. 3, 18;—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְהָלַכְתָּ Deut. 8, 10, 11, 15, and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in וְהָלַכְתָּ Deut. 17, 14, וְהָלַכְתָּ Deut. 23, 13, Amos 1, 4, 7, 10, 12 (yet also וְהָלַכְתָּ Deut. 21, 11, 23, 14, 24, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Methēgh*, e. g. Zeph. 1, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QĀL.

1. Qāl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active*, called also *Pō'el* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a *passive*, called *Pā'ul* (פָּעוּל).¹

The *Pā'ul* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of Qāl, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramaean the passives of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle active of Qāl in the intransitive verbs *mid. E* and *mid. O*, coincides with the form

¹ The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also פְּעוּלִי (middle word); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present participle) the middle place between the past and the future; in this sense the פְּעוּלִי is opposed by them to the passive form פָּעוּל as part. *praeterit*.

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as **רָשָׁן**, *sleeping* (from **רָשַׁן**), **יָגֹר**, *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. **יָגַר**); comp. the formation of the Part. in Niph'al (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid. A.* takes the form **קָטַל**, the *ô* of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôṭēl* from *qâtēl*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form **קָטַל**, which with two changeable *Qā'mēṣ* would correspond to the forms **רָשַׁר** and **יָגַר**, is in use only as a *verbal noun*, § 84, 1.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pi'el*, *Pu'âl*, *Hiph'il*, *Höph'âl*, *Hithpā'el* follows a different method, taking a prefixed *ḡ*.

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* **קָטְלוּ** or **קָטְלוּהָ**, *pass.* **קְטוּלוּהָ**) and their plural (*act. mas.* **קָטְלוּ**, *fem.* **קָטְלוּהָ**; *pass. m.* **קְטוּלוּ**, *f.* **קְטוּלוּהָ**) like other nouns (§§ 87, 94).

Rem. 1. From the above it follows: 1) the *ā* of the form **רָשָׁן** is lengthened from *â* and is consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* **רָשְׁנָהּ**); 2) the *ô* of **קָטַל** on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qātēl* and the part. *qātīl* to *qôtēl*. In both cases therefore the *ē* of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ī*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. **קָטַל** pl. **קָטְלוּ**; **קָטְלוּ** const. pl. **קָטְלוּ**).—An uncommon form perhaps is **הוֹצִיֵּךְ** *supporting* Ps. 16, 5; it is possible, however, that **הוֹצִיֵּךְ** is intended with incorrect full writing of **יֵי** (comp. **סָבִיב** 2 K. 8, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf. Hiph.* of **יָצַח**. Many reckon here also **יֹסִיף** Is. 29, 14, 38, 5; but this is rather 3 *sing. Impf. Hiph'il* of **יָסַף** (compare a quite similar construction in Is. 28, 16; the prop. n. **אֲבִיבִל** 1 Ch. 27, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form **הוֹצִיֵּם** Is. 41, 7 (for **הוֹצִיֵּם**) is explained in § 29, 3, b.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus **בָּטְחָהּ** is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. 112, 7, **שָׁכֵן** *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. 8, 11 (like the Lat. *deponent* forms *confusus*, *commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb **אָחַז** *holding* (not *held*) Cant. 3, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NIPH'AL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a *ṇ* prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed *ḡ* (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ā* but in strong verbs attenuated to *ī*), so that, by assimilation of the *ṇ*, we have the *Impf. and Inf.* **הִקְטִיל** (for **הִקְטִיל**), the *Inf. absol.* **הִקְטִיל**, and also

the *Impf.* יִקְטֹל (with the η elided) for יִקְטֹלָה. But when the latter is vowelless the η joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf.* קָטַל, *Part.* קָטֵל, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* קֹטֵל. The inflection of Niph'al is perfectly analogous to that of Qāl. (The VIIth conjug. of the Arab. 'inqātālā corresponds to the Niph'al.)

Niph'al may be known in the *Perf.* and *Part.* by the *Nēm* prefixed; in the *Imp. Inf.* and *Impf.*, by the *Dāgh*. *f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the Dāghē'eh must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The *significations of Niph'al*. It is similar to the Greek *middle voice*, and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qāl, e. g. נִשְׁמַר to *watch one's self, to beware*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִכְתֵּר to *hide one's self*; often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נָחַם to *trouble one's self, to grieve*, נִנְחַם to *bemoan one's self, to bewail*; comp. ὀδύρσασθαι, *lamentari, contristari*;—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal* action, as from שָׁפַט to *judge*, Niph. נִשְׁפָּט to *go to law with one another*; יָצַח to *counsel*, Niph. יִצְחָק to *consult together*; comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (יָצַח), μάχεσθαι (לָחָם), *altercari, praeliari, luctari, ἐρίζεσθαι* (נָחַח);—*c*) It has also like Hithpā'el (§ 54, 3, c) and the Greek *middle*, the *signification of the active*, with addition of *self*, Lat. *sibi, for one's self*, e. g. שָׁאַל to *ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 13, 6), precisely like αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα to *put on (one's self) a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qāl, e. g. יָלַד to *bear*, Niph. יִלְד to *be born*, קָבַר to *bury*, Niph. קִבְּר to *be buried*; likewise of Pi'el and Hi-ph'il, when Qāl is intransitive or not in use, e. g. כָּבַד to *be in honour*, Pi'el כִּבְּד to *honour*, Niph. כִּבְּד to *be honoured*, כָּחַד in Pi'el to *conceal*, Hi-ph. כִּחְד to *make disappear, to destroy*, Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qāl (חָלַה Qāl and Niph. חִלְּה to *be ill*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are נִזְכֵּר to *be born a male* (from זָכָר a male) Ex. 34, 19, נִלְבֵּב cordatum fieri (from לֵב heart) Job 11, 22.

NB. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'al as strictly the *passive* of Qāl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'al has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qāl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Nīph'al ('*in-qūtālā*'), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Nīph'al in the form נָאָל Is. 59, 3, Lam. 4, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The נָ prefix has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like הָ in Hīthpā'ēl,¹ the הָ probably serving to make the characteristic ו utterable (comp. Arab. '*in-qūtālā*').

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* נָקַט connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as קָטַל to קָטַל; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in נָשָׂא נָקַט *rogando* 1 Sam. 20, 6, נָקַט נָשָׂא *desiderando* Gen. 31, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is נָקַט נָשָׂא Jer. 32, 4; once נָקַט נָשָׂא Ezek. 14, 3. The *ô* in the final syllable (which is originally *ā*) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pī'el and Pū'al, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding *ā*. Moreover, the form נָקַט נָשָׂא is not infrequently used for the *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Num. 15, 31, Deut. 4, 26, 1 K. 20, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a *Pāthäch* often takes the place of *Sērē* in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. נָקַט נָשָׂא and *he was weaned* Gen. 21, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final ו): 17, 23 (with פ); Jonah 1, 5 (with ו); (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the *Pāthäch* is common, e. g. נָקַט נָשָׂא *they shall be remembered* Is. 65, 17; *Sērē* is found only in נָקַט נָשָׂא Ruth 1, 13 (from נָקַט for נָקַט with *Dāghesh* omitted; comp. נָקַט נָשָׂא Is. 60, 4.).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes *S'ghöl* instead of *Sērē*; e. g. נָקַט נָשָׂא *he stumbles at it* Ez. 33, 12; נָקַט נָשָׂא *and he heard him* Gen. 25, 21; also *Pāthäch* נָקַט נָשָׂא Job 18, 4, but comp. נָקַט נָשָׂא and *God heard* 2 Sam. 21, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra 8, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after ו cons. e. g. נָקַט נָשָׂא *and he fought* Num. 21, 1 etc. For the *imperative* נָקַט נָשָׂא there is found (with the rejection of initial ה) נָקַט נָשָׂא Is. 43, 9 (in *pause* נָקַט נָשָׂא Joel, 4, 11; comp. נָקַט נָשָׂא Jer. 50, 5).

¹ Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the *r* at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun=*se*; in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur*, in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (I am praised). See Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen*, Th. 1, S. 133 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. אֶשְׁכַּל the form אֶשְׁכַּל is equally frequent, as אֶשְׁכַּל *I will let myself be sought* Ez. 14, 3; אֶשְׁבַּר *I swear* Gen. 21, 24; in the *Cohortative* always with *i*, e. g. אֶשְׁכַּח *I will avenge me* Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PĪ'Ē'L AND PŪ'Ā'L.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation is the *doubling of the middle stem-letter*. In the *active* (Pī'ēl), the *Perf.* would naturally have קָשַׁל from the simple stem קָשַׁל (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qā'tālā*); the *ā* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *i* in the *Perf.* In the 2nd syllable *ā* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pī'āl*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *i* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. קָשַׁל, Biblical Aram. קָשַׁל). Thus arise for the 2d sing. masc. perf. forms like אָבַד, קָדַשׁ, לָפַד, קָבַד, בָּדַד etc.¹—Before affirmatives however *ā* is always retained, thus קָשַׁלְתָּ, קָשַׁלְתָּם, קָשַׁלְתִּי etc. The *Infinitive absol.* has קָשַׁל (inflected from *qattāl*). The *Inf. const.* and *Impf.* have קָשַׁל with *ā* in the first syllable, and so the *Impf.* makes יִקָּשַׁל and the *Part.* יֹקָשַׁל, the preformatives here having a vocal *Sh'wā*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The *passive* (Pū'āl קָשַׁל) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ū* or rarely *ō*) after the first stem-letter, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qāl.

The *q*, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the *Part.*, seems to be connected with *קִי* *who?* (fem. *קִי* comp. § 37) in the sense of *some one*.

Pī'ēl and *Pū'āl* are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghē'ah* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—
a) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—b) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Sh'wā* (§ 20, 3, b), as שָׁחַח *she stretches*

¹ On three cases which take *—* instead of *—* before final *ר* or *ב* see below Rem. 1.

forth (for שָׁחַח) Ez. 17, 7; בָּקְשׁוּהוּ for בָּקְשׁוּהוּ *they sought him* 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Châf'êph*, under the *littera dagesanda*, e. g. לָקְחוּהָ for לָקְחוּהָ *she was taken* Gen. 2, (23, — though influence of preceding —) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Sh'wâ* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. *The primary idea of Pi'êl is urgency, especially that which is self impelled (a busy doing) hence.*—*a*) It denotes *intensity and repetition* (comp. the *intensive and iterative nouns*, which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);¹ e. g. צָחַק *to laugh*, Pi'êl *to sport, to jest* (to laugh repeatedly), שָׁאַל *to ask*, Pi'êl *to beg*; hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many*, as קָבַר *to bury (one)* Gen. 23, 4, Pi'êl *to bury (many)* 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of Pi'êl is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as פָּתַח *to open*, Pi'êl *to loose*, סָפַר *to count*, Pi'êl *to relate*.—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—*b*) Pi'êl has a *causative* signification (like Hiph'il), e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, Pi'êl *to teach*. It often takes the modifications expressed by *to permit, to declare or to hold as, to help*, as הֵיחָה *to let live*, צָדַק *to declare innocent*, יָלַד *to help in child-bearing*.—*c*) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean *to make a thing* (viz. that which the noun expresses), or *to be in any way occupied with it*; as קָנָן *to make a nest* (from קֵן *nest*), עָפַר *to throw dust, to dust* (from עָפָר *dust*). It also expresses the *taking away or injuring* the thing expressed by the noun (as in English *to behead, to skin, to bone*), e. g. שָׁרַשׁ (from שָׁרֵשׁ *a root*) *to root out, extirpate*, זָנַב (from זָנַב *tail*) *properly to injure the tail*,

¹ Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen, recken* (E. *reach, rack*); *streichen* (*stringo*, Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. *stretch, streak*); comp. *Strich, Strecke*; *wacker*, from *wachen*: others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen, stecken* (E. *stitch, stick*); *wachen, wecken* (E. *watch, wake*); τέλλω *to bring to an end*, from the stem τέλω *to end*, γεννᾶω *to beget*, from γένω *to come into being*. The above examples in German show also that *ch*, when doubled, takes the form of *kk, ck*, in accordance with the laws relating to the *Dāghē'sh* in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence to rout the rear of an army, *רָעַץ* to remove the ashes, *רָעַץ* to break the bones. So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. *סָקַל* to stone, and also to remove the stones (i. e. from a field);¹ comp. Eng. to stone in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pū'āl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. *גָּנַב* to steal, Pī'ēl to steal, Pū'āl to be stolen.

In Pī'ēl, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qāl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense; e. g. *רָפָא* in Pī'ēl to stitch up, in Qāl to heal; *כָּרַא*, Pī'ēl to cut or hew out, Qāl to form or make; *זָלַח*, Pī'ēl to uncover, Qāl to reveal.

In intransitive verbs, also, Pī'ēl occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as *רָעַץ* to be broken in pieces Jer. 51, 58, *רָעַץ* to tremble Deut. 51, 13, Prov. 28, 14, *שָׁתַח* to be open Is. 48, 8, 60, 11, *רָיַח* to be drunken Is. 34, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Pī'ēl has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (—), e. g. *אַבַּד* to destroy, *שָׁבַר* to break in pieces, *לָמַד* to teach. This occurs especially before *Mdqqēph* (Eccles. 9, 15, 12, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in pause), *Ṣērē* is the more common vowel. Comp. *הָלַל* Is. 49, 21 with *הָלַל* Josh. 4, 14; *עָשָׂה* 3, 1. Some verbs have *Sēghōl*, namely *דִּבֶּר* to speak, *כָּפַר* to atone, and *כָּבַשׁ* to wash clothes, but *דִּבֶּר* in pause.

A single instance of (—) in the first syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen. 41, 51 *נָשָׁח* to cause to forget, a change occasioned by the play upon the name *נִשְׁכַּח*. Compare the quadriliteral *נִשְׁכַּח*, which is analogous in form to Pī'ēl (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by *Mdqqēph*, generally take *Sēghōl* in the final syllable, e. g. *יִבְקֹשׁ-לֹו* he seeks for himself Is. 40, 20, *קִדְּשֵׁנִי* sanctify to me Ex. 13, 2. So too in Hithpā'ēl.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides *אֶכְשַׁל*, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the א, as *אֶזְכֹּר* Lev. 26, 33; and even with (—), as *אֶסְבֵּר* Zech. 7, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With *Wāw cons.* we have also *וַיִּגְדֹּשׁ* and *וַיִּגְדֹּשׁ* Judg. 6, 9. Instead of *וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ* are found forms like *וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ*, as in Is. 3, 16, 13, 18 (before a sibilant in pause).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pi. has the special form *קָטַל*, as *יִסֵּר* castigando Ps. 118, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

¹ In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew *Qāl* *שָׁבַר* (from *שָׁבַר*) to buy or sell grain; Lat. *causari*, *prædari*, etc.

constr. קָטַל is used instead, as in Jer. 12, 17, 32, 33. For the latter the form קָטַל also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. 14, 43 קָטַלְךָ, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 נִקְטַלְךָ נִקְטַלְךָ.

4. In *Pū'al*, instead of *Qibbū'q*, *Qā'mēq-chāfū'ph* is found less frequently, e. g. מִצְדֵּם *dyed red* Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7; Ps. 72, 20, 80, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shū'rēq* takes the place of *Qibbū'q*, as יִיזֶר in Judg. 13, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of Pu. there is found נָבַב in Gen. 40, 15.—The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in *Pū'al*.

6. The *Part. Pū'al* sometimes occurs without the prefixed ה; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the *Part. Niph.*) only by the *Qā'mēq* in the final syllable, e. g. לָקַח *taken* 2 K. 2, 10, comp. יִקְחֶךָ for יִקְחֶךָ Judg. 13, 8; also Ec. 9, 12, Ez. 26, 17, Prov. 25, 19, Is. 13, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial ה.

§ 53.

HĪPH'ĪL AND HÖPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hīph'il) is ה, in the Perf. ה (the *ā* being attenuated into *ī* as in *Pī'el*) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise *ā*; comp. Arab. conj. IV. 'aqtālā and in Hebrew the return of *Pā'thāch* in the 2d and 1st person הִקְטַלְתָּ etc. The *ā* having been attenuated into *ī*, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into *ē* (as in Aram. אִקְטַל, in Biblical Aram. אִקְטַל). Instead of this however the strong verb has received *ī*. Thus in the *Inf. constr.* הִקְטִיל with which are connected the *Impf.* and the *Part.* הִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל,² contracted from הִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל. In the *passive* (Höph'āl) the ה is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has *ā* instead of *ī*, as הִקְטַל or הִקְטַל, *Impf.* קָטַל (syncopated from הִקְטַל)

¹ This omission of the ה seems to occur also at times in *Part. Pī'el*, as in שִׁבְחָהּ for שִׁבְחָהּ *praising* Ecc. 4, 2, מִצְדֵּם for מִצְדֵּם *refusing* Ex. 7, 27, perh. also הִלְלִים in Ps. 87, 7 may be for הִלְלִים *dancing or dancers*.—Tr.

² Here the corresponding Arab. forms (*yaqtīl* and *maqtīl*) indicate an original *ī* in the second syllable. In Hebrew this *ī* is lengthened into *ē* (after the general rule) at least in the *Jussive* and the *Imperf. consec.* (see below 3 Rem. 4) as well as in the *Imperative* of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. (see 3, Rem. 3).

or **יָקַטַל**, Inf. absol. **יִקְטַל**, Participle **מִקְטַל** and **מִקְטֵל**; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformative **ת** compare § 55, No. 6.

The marks of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed **ת**; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hiph'il is *Päthäch*, in Hoph'al, *Qibbā'ē* (—) or *Qā'mēš-chātūph* (—).

2. *Significations of Hiph'il.*—It is properly *causative of Qāl*, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'el (§ 52, 2, b), e. g. **יָצָא** to go forth, Hiph. to bring out, to lead forth; **קָדַשׁ** to be holy, Hiph. to sanctify. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. **הִצְדִּיק** to declare just; **הִרְשִׁיעַ** to declare guilty (render criminal). When Qāl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'el and Hiph'il are both in use in the same signification, as **אָבַד** to perish, Pi. and Hiph. to destroy; but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as **כָּבַד** to be heavy, Pi. to honour, Hiph. to make heavy. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. **נָטָה** to bow (intrans.), Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hiph'il embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by periphrase. Thus a) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. **אָרַל**, **הָלַל**, **וָרַר**, Hiph. to emit a lustre, **הִשְׁעָה**, Hiph. to create gloom, **צָלַו**, Hiph. to be prosperous, **שָׁעַל**, Hiph. to be needy, **שָׁבַן**, Hiph. to become fat (properly to produce fat)¹, **הִזְקַח** and **הִזְקִין**, Hiph. to become strong (properly to develope strength); so too **הִשְׁחַלַּח**, Hiph. to become feeble; **הִצְהִיר** to be red (prop. to show redness), **הִלְבִּין** to be white, **הִחֲרִישׁ** to be silent, but properly to keep silence (*silentium facere*, Plin.); b) the Hiph. expresses entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. **הִצְמִין** to be firm, Hiph. to trust in, **הִלָּח** to become sick, **הִבִּשׁ** to become ashamed, **הִרְדִּישׁ** to keep quiet; c) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

¹ The verb **עָשָׂה** to make is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. to make fat (fatness), i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job 15, 27; to make fruits, to make branches, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job 14, 9, Hos. 8, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. 11, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

as *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע* to deal well, *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע* to do wickedly, properly to make good, or bad one's way (sc. *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע*, *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע* which are also often expressed); *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע* to make sinful, *לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע* to act craftily.

2. Causatives also are certain denominatives, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. *לַעֲשׂוֹת שָׁרָשׁ* to put forth roots, *לַעֲשׂוֹת קַרְנִים* to put forth horns. It also expresses the active use of a member, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹזְנַיִם* to listen (properly to make ears); *לַעֲשׂוֹת לִשָּׁנָה* to chatter, to slander (after the same analogy, properly to make tongue, to use the tongue freely).

3. The signification of *Hôph'âl* is *passive*—a) chiefly of *Hiph'il*, as in *לַעֲשׂוֹת חֵטְא* to cast out, *לַעֲשׂוֹת חֵטְא* or *לַעֲשׂוֹת חֵטְא* to be cast out;—b) at times also of *Qāl*, as in *לַעֲשׂוֹת נֶקֶם* to avenge, *לַעֲשׂוֹת נֶקֶם* to be avenged.

Rem. 1. The *î* of 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged also in the 3d fem. (in the tone-syllable). But that it has arisen from a short vowel and is therefore changeable is shown from the Imperf. and Imper., where *ê* (through the influence of a guttural also *â*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *î* is retained; only in rare cases does it become *Sh'wâ* (v. Rem. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has generally *Š'êrê*, usually without *Yôdh*, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* Judg. 17, 3; rarely (and incorrectly) with *Yôdh*, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* Amos 9, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have *â* instead of the *î* in *לַעֲשׂוֹת* to rise early Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *Š'êrê* stands for the Inf. constr., are found in Deut. 32, 8. Is. 57, 20. For the usual Inf. constr. *לַעֲשׂוֹת* we find a few times *לַעֲשׂוֹת*, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* to destroy Deut. 7, 24, 28, 48, Josh. 11, 14, Jer. 50, 34; so also *לַעֲשׂוֹת* for *לַעֲשׂוֹת* from *לַעֲשׂוֹת* Lev. 14, 43. Upon elision of *î* v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the *î* (—) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before *וְ*—paragogic e. g. *לַעֲשׂוֹת*. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original *î* (comp. Arab. *âqûl*) is lengthened into *ê*, e. g. *לַעֲשׂוֹת* to become fat and before *Mâqqêph* it becomes *S'ghôl*, e. g. *לַעֲשׂוֹת* Job. 22, 21.—In a few instances the form *לַעֲשׂוֹת* is anomalously substituted for *לַעֲשׂוֹת*: Ps. 94, 1 (77, 2) Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form *לַעֲשׂוֹת*, e. g. 2 K. 8, 6.—In Lament. 5, 1 for *לַעֲשׂוֹת* the *Q'î* requires *לַעֲשׂוֹת*.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *Š'êrê* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* make not great Obad. 12, *לַעֲשׂוֹת* let him cut off Ps. 12, 4, also with *וְ* consec., as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* and he divided Gen. 1, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually *î*, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* Am. 2, 9). Before *Mâqqêph* the *Š'êrê* becomes *S'ghôl*, as *לַעֲשׂוֹת* and he held him Judg. 19, 4. In the plural the forms *לַעֲשׂוֹת*,

וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ stand also in the Jussive and with *cons.*, e. g. וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued Judg. 18, 22; but the *i* (after the Aramæan) sometimes becomes *Sh'wâ*, as וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ 1 K. 20, 23, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they bent Jer. 9, 2, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued 1 Sam. 14, 22, 31, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. 17, 25. Ps. 65, 10. Job 9, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yaqtîl*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. 44, 28: יִשְׁלַח).

5. The Part. מְדַחֵר (Is. 53, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *maqlîl* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מְדַחֵר Ps. 135, 7, where, however, *šerê* could be explained from the shifting of the tone). In the following plurals the vowel has become *Sh'wâ*: מְדַחֵמִים dreamers Jer. 29, 8, מְדַחֵרִים helpers 2 Ch. 28, 23 and in מְדַחֵרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24.—The *fem.* is usually like מְדַחֵלָה, e. g. מְדַחֵלָה Lev. 14, 21, מְדַחֵלָה Num. 5, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as וְהָיָה we have reproached 1 Sam. 25, 7, comp. Job 16, 7, also וְהָיָה I have soiled (with *ā* for *î*, as in Aramæan) Is. 63, 3; comp. וְהָיָה Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic *î* regularly gives place to the preformatives, as מְדַחֵל, מְדַחֵל, but not to prepositions in the Inf., מְדַחֵל, because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as וְהָיָה he will save for וְהָיָה Ps. 116, 6 (in pause), וְהָיָה he will praise for וְהָיָה (only in verbs פָּלִי Neh. 11, 17; on the contrary וְהָיָה לְהָשִׁיב to sing Ps. 26, 7, לְהָשִׁיב for לְהָשִׁיב to cause to faint 1 Sam. 2, 33, לְהָשִׁיב to destroy Is. 23, 11, לְהָשִׁיב Am. 8, 4, לְהָשִׁיב for לְהָשִׁיב Ps. 73, 20, לְהָשִׁיב for לְהָשִׁיב Ps. 73, 17.¹

8. The tone, in Hiph'il, does not fall on the affirmatives וְ, וְ, and וְ, not even in the Perf. with *Waw* consec. except in Ex. 26, 33, Lev. 15, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because וְ or וְ follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending וְ takes the tone, as in וְהָיָה Deut. 1, 17.

9. In the passive (*Hôph'al*) Perf., Impf. and Part. *û* (—) is found in the first syllable as well as *ô* (—), but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. וְהָיָה he is laid Ez. 32, 32 (but וְהָיָה in 32, 19), וְהָיָה Part. מְשָׁקֵה 2 Sam. 20, 21 (but וְהָיָה in Is. 14, 19). Verbs מְשָׁקֵה have *û* constantly, as וְהָיָה, וְהָיָה (according to § 9, 9, 2).

¹ So also וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה Ex. 13, 21, וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה Num. 5, 22, וְהָיָה for וְהָיָה Dan. 11, 35; but part. *Hoph.* מְדַחֵר in Ez. 46, 22 for מְדַחֵר.—Tr.

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. *הִחַל* *fasciando* Ez. 16, 4, *נִחַד* *nuntiando* Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of *Hōph'al*, see above on p. 118, note 1.

§ 54.

HĪTHPĀ'ĒL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with *Pī'el*, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form *קָטַל* the syllable *הִתְ* (West. Aram. *הִתְ*, but Biblical Aram. *הִתְ*; Syr. *הִתְ*), which, like *הִתְ* in *Nīph'al* (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The *ת* of the syllable *הִתְ* in this conj., as also in *Hīthpō'el* and *Hīthpāl'el* (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

- a) When one of the sibilants (*ס*, *ץ*, *ש*) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the *ת* (§ 19, 5), as *הִתְשַׁמֵּר* to take heed, for *הִתְשַׁמֵּר*; *הִתְסַבֵּל* to be burdened, for *הִתְסַבֵּל*. (A solitary exception is found in *הִתְשַׁמֵּר* to avoid cacophony which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With *ז*, moreover, the transposed *ת* is changed into *ב*, as being more akin to the *ז* (see § 19, 1), as *הִתְצַדֵּק* to justify one's self, for *הִתְצַדֵּק*.
- b) Before *ד*, *ב* and *ת*, the *ת* is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in *הִתְדַּבֵּר* to be crushed (but *מִתְדַּבְּקִים* in Judg. 19, 22). *הִתְטַהַר* to cleanse one's self, *יִטְמָא* he shall defile himself Lev. 21, 1. *הִתְנַחֵם* to behave uprightly; sometimes also before *נ* and *כ*, as *הִתְנַבֵּא* to prophesy Jer. 23, 13, else *הִתְנַבֵּא*; *הִתְכַּוֵּן* for *הִתְכַּוֵּן* to make one's self ready, *הִתְכַּסֶּה* for *הִתְכַּסֶּה* Prov. 26, 26. Also before *ש* Ec. 7, 16, before *ר* Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when *ת* and *ז* meet, and the *ת* should be changed into *ד*. Instead of this the *ת* has been assimilated with the *ז* in the only instance of this kind. *הִתְזַכֵּי* Is. 1, 16.

3. The significations of *Hīthpā'el*.—a) Most frequently it is reflexive, but chiefly of *Pī'el*, as *הִתְקַדֵּשׁ* to sanctify one's self, *הִתְנַקֵּם* to avenge one's self, *הִתְאַזַּר* to gird one's self. Then

¹ See also in the Hebrew *הִתְחַבֵּר* 2 Ch. 20, 35, cf. Ps. 76, 6.

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self*, *to imagine one's self*, *to affect to be* such; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act* so and so; e. g. הִתְגַּדַּל *to make one's self great, to act proudly*; הִתְחַכֵּם *to show one's self cunning, crafty*, also (Ec. 7, 16) *to fancy one's self wise*; הִתְעַשֵּׂר *to make* (i. e. *to feign*) *one's self rich*. Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qāl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. אָבַל *to mourn*, found in Qāl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prose, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).—*b*) It expresses *reciprocal action* (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as הִתְרַאָּה *to look upon one another* Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to or for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. הִתְעַשֵּׂשׁ *exuit sibi (vestem)*, הִתְפַּחַח *solvit sibi (vincula)*. So without the accusative הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for one's self (ambulare)*.—*d*) Only seldom it is *passive*, e. g. הִשְׁתַּכַּח *to be forgotten* Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Niph'al, § 51, 2, *d*.

Rem. 1. The passive *Höthp'äl* is found only in the few following examples: הִתְנַמַּס *to be made unclean* Deut. 24, 4, הִתְבַּשַּׁם *to be washed* Lev. 13, 55, 56, הִתְשַׂחַח (for הִתְעַשֵּׂחַ, see § 20, 3, *b*) *it is glutted with fat* Is. 34, 6. Comp. also הִתְעַשֵּׂר; see Rem. 4.

2. *Denominatives* with the reflexive signification are הִתְיַדַּד *to embrace Judaism* (i. e. *to make one's self a Jew*), from יָדַד *Jew*; הִתְיַדַּד *to provision one's self for a journey*, from יָדַד.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pī'el, *Pāthāch* (or *Qāmēṣ* in verbs ל"א) in the final syllable, as הִתְחַזַּק *to strengthen one's self* 2 Oh. 18, 7, 15, 8, הִתְנַמַּס *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. Final *Pāthāch* occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as הִתְחַכֵּם *he deems himself wise* Ec. 7, 16. In *pause* these forms always take *Qāmēṣ*, as הִתְעַשֵּׂר *he has girded himself* Ps. 98, 1, הִתְאַבֵּל Ez. 7, 27, הִתְקַדַּשׁ Job 38, 30, הִתְהַלֵּךְ Job 18, 8; הִתְקַדַּשׁ *sanctify thyself* Josh. 3, 5. But in the Part. always *Ṣerē*, e. g. הִתְקַדַּשׁ Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pī'el הִתְעַשֵּׂר (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. הִתְהַלֵּךְ Zech. 8, 7.

4. To this Reflexive הִתְקַדַּשׁ (apparently from Pī'el) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb מָסַךְ (*to muster*), which do *not* double the middle radical and have under the first a long *ā* (*Qāmēṣ*), namely הִתְמַסְּךָ Judg. 20, 15, Impf. הִתְמַסְּךָ Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form הִתְמַסְּךָ Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of *Qāl*, with the

sense to *present oneself at the muster, to be mustered*, after the manner of the Aram. *lthpē'el* (West. Aram. ܠܬܗܦܝܠ, Syr. ܠܬܗܦܝܠ) and of the Ethiopic *taqat'la*, also Arab. *'iqta'tala* (which has *always* the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in חִלְחַח (i. e. חִלְחַח after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mēsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* נִלָּחַח to *fight* or *wage war* (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing נִלָּחַח in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw* consecutive; on line 19 *infin.* with *suff.* בִּי נִלָּחַח by his fighting with me).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with *Pī'el*, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to *Hīph'il*, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive*, distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix הִתְ, after the analogy of *Hīthpā'el*.

Those which are analogous to *Pī'el*, and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pō'el*; as קִוַּשׁ, pass. *Pō'āl* קִוַּשׁ, reflex. *Hīthpō'el* הִתְקִוַּשׁ (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qātālā*, pass. *qātīlā*, reflex. *tāqātālā*) *Impf.* קִוַּשׁ, *Part.* מְקִוַּשׁ, *Impf. pass.* קִוַּשׁ, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ō* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *ā* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—*Part.* מַעֲתָקִי my opponent at law Job 9, 15, יוֹדֵעִתִּי I have appointed 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read יוֹדֵעִתִּי), שָׁרַשׁ to take root, pass. שָׁרַשׁ, denom. from שָׁרַשׁ root; of *Hīthpō'el* Jer. 25, 16, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*part.* מַהֲרִיעַ for מַהֲרִיעַ). In verbs עָנָה (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. רוֹעֵב, סוֹבֵב, רוֹעֵב.

The *signification* of *Pō'el* is, like that of *Pī'el*, often causative of *Qāl*. Sometimes both *Pō.* and *Pī.* are in use in the same signification, as רִצָּץ and רִצָּץ to oppress; sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סָבַב to turn about, to change, סוֹבֵב to go about, to sur-

to lead (*denom.* from רָגַל *a foot*); in a ל"ה stem, תַּחֲרִיחַ, *Impf.* יִתְחַרְחֵחַ to vie with Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from חָרַח to be hot, eager). The Aram. has a similar form, תַּרְגֵּם to interpret, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass.* תַּרְגֵּם Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shāph'el*; as שָׁפַט, frequent in Syr., as Aram. שָׁפַח, Syr. شَفَّ, to flame, from לָחַב. In Hebrew it is found only in the noun שִׁלְהָבָה flame, § 84, No. 34; but this conjugation may underlie the Hiph'il, with ה for ש; see *Davies' Heb. Lex.* p. 608. Compare § 39, 4, Rem.

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur:—7. קָשַׁט, *pass.* קָשַׁטָּה; as קָשַׁטָּה מִן הַסָּכָה scaled off, having the form of scales Ex. 16, 14, from קָשַׁח—to peel, to shell.—8. תַּשְׁקַל, as יִרְדּוּן a violent rain, from יָרַח.—9. נִתְקַשַּׁל (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of Niph. and Hithp., found in the examples נִתְקַשְׁרוּ for נִתְקַדְּרוּ they let themselves be warned Ez. 23, 48; נִתְקַשֵּׁר for נִתְקַדֵּשֵׁר to be expiated Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice,—10. the form תִּצְצֹר to sound the trumpet, commonly derived from the stem תִּצַּר. But it is probably a *denom.* from תִּצְצֹרֶת a trumpet, an *onomatopoeic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the tuba, Ennius ap. Servium ad Æn. 9, 503.

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadrilaterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 3). The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of Pī'el, once after Hiph'il. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf. פָּרַשׁ he spread out Job 26, 9 (with Pā'thāch in the first syllable, as in Aram.).¹ *Impf.* יִכְרַסְכָּהּ he will devour it Ps. 80, 14, r. קָסָם cf. קָסָה. *Pass.* יִרְשַׁשׁ to become green again Job 33, 25. *Part.* מְקַרְבֵּל girded 1 Ch. 15, 27. Like Hiph'il is תִּשְׁמָאל (contracted תִּשְׁמָאֵל) to turn to the left (denominative from שָׂמַל) Gen. 13, 9, Is. 80, 21.

¹ But *Delitzsch* more properly regards this as the *inf. absol.* of a Pī'el form of פָּרַשׁ with an euphonic change of the first ש into שׁ and the second into י. Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading פָּרַשׁ and this has therefore been accepted by *Baer* in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

Paradigm C.

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, אֶת the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as קָטַל אֹתוֹ (*he has killed him*); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix*, as קָטַלְתָּ or קָטַלְתִּי (*he has killed him*). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.² Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Niph'al and Hithpa'el (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדְּשׁ *he sanctified himself* not קָדַשׁ, which would only signify *he sanctified him*.

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun*; and they are the following:—

¹ We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

² On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי ; אֲנִי (in pause אֲנִי); אֲנִי <i>me.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> אֲנֵינוּ <i>us.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּא, הִיא} \text{ (ekhā), in} \\ \text{pause } \text{הוּא, also } \text{הִיא} \\ f. \text{הִי; הִיא, הִיא; ra-} \\ \text{rely } \text{הִיא} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thee.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם, הֵם} \\ f. \text{הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>you.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּא, הוּא; הוּא, הוּא} \text{ (הוּא),} \\ \text{הוּא; הוּא} \\ f. \text{הִיא, הִיא; הִיא} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>him.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם,}^1 \text{הֵם; הֵם (contr.} \\ \text{from } \text{הֵם), הֵם;} \\ \text{הֵם (contr. from} \\ \text{הֵם), הֵם; poet.} \\ \text{הֵם, הֵם, הֵם} \\ f. \text{הֵנּוּ,}^1 \text{הֵנּוּ; הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>them.</i>

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes אֲנִי , אֲנֵינוּ , הוּא and הִיא never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (הוּא , הִיא , הֵם , הֵנּוּ) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun אֲנִי with אֲנִי instead of אֲנִי (אֲנִי , אֲנִי , אֲנִי), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the affirmatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of הוּא , by rejecting the feeble א , there arose ā-u , and thence often by contraction ū (§ 23, 4) usually written ו , much more seldom ו . In the *fem.*, the suffixes from הִיא ought, according to analogy, to sound הִיא , הִיא , הִיא ; but instead of הִיא , we have, for the sake of euphony, simply הִיא , where the א is regularly a consonant,

¹ הֵם occurs very seldom as *verbal* suffix (Deut 32, 26); הֵנּוּ not at all. Yet they are given in the list as ground-forms, which frequently occur with nouns and prepositions.

² Traces of this lost form appear still in the affirmatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *gatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii Carmina Samaritana*, *Anecdota Orientalia*, p. 43; *Petermann*, *Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica* etc. Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on אֲנִי in § 44, 1. The t and k are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note ¹).

and therefore with *Mappiq*; however there is also found ה־ (see No. 3, Rem. 1).

Once (Ez. 41, 15) ה־ stands for ה־ , as in West. Aram. and Arabic.

3. The *variety* in the forms of the suffixes was occasioned by the form and tense of the verb, which received and modified them. Thus, *three forms* of almost every suffix may be distinguished:

- a) One beginning with the consonant itself, as נִי , הִי , נִי , (הִי), etc. This is appended to verbal forms which end with a vowel, as קָטְלִי , $\text{קָטְלִי$.
- b) A second and a third, with the so-called *union-vowels*¹ (י־ , נ־) for the verbal forms which end with a consonant (for the exception, see § 59, Rem. 3): with *a* as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Perfect, as קָטַלְתִּי , קָטַלְתְּ ; with *e* (rarely *a*) as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Imperfect and Imperative, as $\text{קָטְלֵה$, $\text{קָטְלֵה$. To the Perfect belongs also the suffix י־ , as having originated from הִי (§ 33, 1). With ה־ , כ־ , ב־ , the uniting sound is only a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), as הִי , כִּי , בִּי , e. g. קָטַלְתָּ (*q'ā-l'khā*); or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, ה־ , as in שָׁלַחְתָּ . In *pause*, the *Shewâ* of ה־ , ה־ becomes *Sghôl* with the tone, as ה־ in קָטַלְתָּ , שָׁלַחְתָּ . Comp. however also ה־ Deut. 28, 24 et al.

Rem. 1. As *rare forms*, may be mentioned: *sing.* 2d pers. *m.* הִי 1 K. 18, 44, in *pause* הִי Prov. 2, 11; *fem.* הִי , הִי Ps. 137, 6, and often in the later Psalms. (הִי , contrary to the rule, joined to the Perf. in Judg. 4, 20).—In the 3d pers. *mas.* הִי Num. 23, 8; *fem.* הִי without *Mappiq* Ex. 2, 3, Amos 1, 11, Jer. 44, 19.—The forms הִי , הִי , are strictly poetic (except Ex. 23, 31); instead of הִי we find הִי once in Ex. 15, 5. On the origin of these forms, see § 32, Rem. 7.

¹ We retain the common name *union-vowel*, although it rests on a rather superficial view, and is somewhat vague. These union-sounds seem, for the most part, to be traces of ancient terminations of the verb, like *i* of the 2d pers. sing. fem. in קָטְלִי . Take, for example, the Hebrew form *q'āl-ani*, when compared with the Arabic *qatala-ni*; and, on the other hand, the Hebrew *q'ālatni* and the Arab. *qatalatni*.

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as נִי, נִי, נִי (me), נִי (my). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, נִי, which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes נִי (commonly called *Nûn epenthetic* or *Nûn demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e.g. יְבַרְכֶהוּ he will bless him (Ps. 72, 15), יְכַבְּדֶנִי he will honour me (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nûn* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

- 1st pers. נִי, נִי, for נִי, נִי;
 2d pers. נִי, once נִי (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* נִי (Prov. 2, 11);
 3d pers. נִי for נִי, also נִי (Num. 23, 13); fem. נִי for נִי;
 1st pers. plur. נִי for נִי.

In the other persons this *Nûn* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 23, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 fem. sing. and 1 plur. The contracted forms (with the *Nûn* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom נִי as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. נִי Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for נִי).

This *Nûn* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a ׀ is inserted (*Petermann*, gramm. Samar. p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find ׀ and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yagtullanna-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59.

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*affirmatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

- a) In the 3 *sing. fem.* הָ—, הָ—, the original feminine-ending, for הָ—;
- b) 2 *sing. mas.* הָ, also הָ, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with הָ—¹;
- c) 2 *sing. fem.* הָ, likewise an older form for הָ (comp. אָחִי, קָטָלְתִּי, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.
- d) 2 *plur. mas.* הָ for הָ, which is explained by the Arabic *'antum, qataltum*, West. Aram. אָחִי, קָטָלְתִּי for Heb. אָחִי, קָטָלְתִּי (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. 20, 5, 21, 5, Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קָטָלְתִּי with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hiph'il* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 <i>m.</i> הָקָטִיל	3 <i>c.</i> הָקָטִילוּ
3 <i>f.</i> הָקָטִילָהּ	
2 <i>m.</i> הָקָטִילְתָּ, הָקָטִילְתָּ	2 <i>m.</i> הָקָטִילְתֶּם
2 <i>f.</i> הָקָטִילְתְּ, הָקָטִילְתְּ	
1 <i>c.</i> הָקָטִילְתִּי	1 <i>c.</i> הָקָטִילְתֶּם

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this *Hiph'il*-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of *Qal* (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

¹ The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself. See Note ¹, under § 58, 3, *b*.

occasions, particularly in the Perfect of *Qāl*, certain vowel changes, a) the *Qā'mēš* of the 1st syllable no longer standing before the tone, becomes vocal *Sh'wā*; b) the original *Pā'thāch* of the 2d syllable, which had disappeared in the third person sing. and plur. appears anew lengthened into *Qā'mēš*; likewise original *i* becomes *ē* e. g. אֶהְיֶה 1 Sam. 18, 22; in consequence of which we have the following forms in that tense:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
3 m. קָטַל	3 c. קָטְלוּ
3 f. קָטְלָה	
2 m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, Rem. 4)	2 m. קָטַלְתֶּם
2 f. קָטַלְתְּ (קָטַלְתְּ, Rem. 4)	
1 c. קָטַלְתִּי	1 c. קָטַלְתֵּם

The connection of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in Paradigm C. There it will be seen, too, how the *Šérē* in the Perfect *Pī'el* changes sometimes into *S'ghôl*, and sometimes into vocal *Sh'wā*.

Rem. 1. The *suffixes* for the 2d pers. pl., קָטַלְתֶּם and קָטַלְתֵּם, are (together with קָטַלְתָּ and קָטַלְתְּ) rather more weighty (i. e. more strongly accented) forms than the others, and hence are called *grave suffixes*, and always have the tone. Compare their connection with *nouns* in § 91. With a verb in the Perfect we find only קָטַלְתֶּם occurring (Ps. 118, 26). The form קָטַלְתָּ which is generally represented as a form of combination before קָטַלְתֶּם and קָטַלְתֵּם in the 3d sing. masc. (also by Kimchi and in Parad. C. in this grammar) is only formed from analogy and, according to *Abraham de Balmis* it is without any example in the Old Testament.

2. In the 3 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ is very often contracted into קָטַלְתָּ, according to § 23, 5, and so likewise in the 2 *sing. mas.* קָטַלְתָּ into קָטַלְתָּ.

3. The 3 *sing. fem.* קָטַלְתְּ (= קָטַלְתְּ) has the twofold peculiarity—
a) that the ending *ath* constantly draws the tone to itself,¹ and then takes the suffixes that make a syllable of themselves (קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתְּ) without a union-vowel, contrary to the general rule (§ 58, 3, a);—
b) with the other suffixes the union-vowel is indeed adopted, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they appear with shortened vowels (קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתְּ e. g. אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ she loves thee Ruth 4, 15, in many MSS. אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ it burned them Is. 47, 14, אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ she has stolen them Gen. 31, 32. For אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ etc., we find in *pause* אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ Ps. 69, 10, אֶהְיֶה אֲהַבְתָּ Cant. 8, 5, and also without *pause*, for the sake of correspondence

¹ קָטַלְתָּ in Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. קָטַלְתָּ and קָטַלְתָּ would probably have the tone even here (Rem. 1), but no examples occur.

in sound, וְהֵלֵךְ (she has born thee) in the same verse (Cant. 5, 5). The forms וְהֵלֵךְ and וְהֵלֵךְ are *contr.* from וְהֵלֵךְ (in pause וְהֵלֵךְ Is. 59, 16) and וְהֵלֵךְ, after the analogy of וְהֵלֵךְ, for וְהֵלֵךְ (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 *sing. masc.* וְהֵלֵךְ is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. וְהֵלֵךְ וְהֵלֵךְ *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. 60, 3; only with 1 *p. sing.* we have וְהֵלֵךְ (from וְהֵלֵךְ and וְהֵלֵךְ) e. g. וְהֵלֵךְ *thou searchest me* Ps. 139, 1, but also in pause וְהֵלֵךְ *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. 22, 2.—In the 2 *sing. fem.* וְהֵלֵךְ is written also defectively, as in וְהֵלֵךְ *thou (fem.) hast deceived me* 1 Sam. 19, 17, וְהֵלֵךְ Jer. 15, 10, Cant. 5, 9, Ex. 2, 10; a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (וְהֵלֵךְ), as in וְהֵלֵךְ *thou (fem.) adjurest us* Cant. 5, 9, Josh. 2, 17, comp. Jer. 2, 27; and with וְהֵלֵךְ *thou (fem.) hast let us down* Josh. 2, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. וְהֵלֵךְ *he puts them on* Lev. 16, 4, וְהֵלֵךְ *he loves thee* Deut. 15, 16, וְהֵלֵךְ *she loved him* 1 Sam. 18, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have וְהֵלֵךְ *I have subdued him* Ps. 13, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qāl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to *°*, *simple Sh'wā vocal* (—), at times to *°*, *Châtē'ph-qāmēš* (—) Jer. 31, 33; but to *ö*, *Qāmēš-châtū'ph* (—), before וְהֵלֵךְ, וְהֵלֵךְ, וְהֵלֵךְ. Instead of וְהֵלֵךְ the form וְהֵלֵךְ is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. 1, 6, Jer. 2, 19, Job 19, 15. The forms with *Nūn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Pāthäch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qāmēš*, e. g. וְהֵלֵךְ *and it put me on* Job 29, 14, וְהֵלֵךְ *let them demand it back* Job 3, 5, וְהֵלֵךְ *and he sent them* Josh. 8, 3, וְהֵלֵךְ *they call upon him* Ps. 145, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, *suffixes* with the union-vowel *a*,

1 Comp. 1 Sam. -1, 6, Is. 34, 17, Jer. 49, 24, Ruth 3, 6; in pause Ex. 14, 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mappiq* in the closing ׀. The form וְהֵלֵךְ is found 1 Sam. 18, 28 in pause.

2 This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. 49, 11, Ez. 37, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in יִלְכְּשׁוּ Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even יִרְדּוּ (*ô* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in יָ, e. g. יַדְכֶם ye crush me Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in יִפְצְצוּנִי they shall find me Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi* the *šerê* of the final syllable, like the *Chōlēm* in *Qāl*, becomes *Sh'wā*; but before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, לָ, it is only shortened into *S'ghōl*, e. g. יִקְצְצֶה he will gather thee Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural יִשְׁלַח Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chîrêg*, as יִשְׁמַחְכֶם I will strengthen you Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 25, 1.

5. In *Hiph.*, the long *i* remains, as in תִּלְבֹּשֶׁנִי thou clothest me Job 10, 11; after *v* consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. יִלְבֹּשֶׁם Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like תַּעֲשִׁירֶנּוּ thou enrichest it Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as קָטַלְנִי to kill me; but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as קָטַלִי my killing (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qāl* the form קָטַל, with the *ô* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. בָּכַתְבוֹ by his writing Jer. 45, 1 (not כָּתַבוֹ *kōth-bô* § 21, 2, a); only before הָ, כֶּם, there is a complete closing e. g. בָּאִסְפָּה Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form קָטַל, with which קָטַל is closely related, § 84, Nos. 10, 11, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form שָׁכַב becomes with suffixes שָׁכַבְהָ Gen. 19, 33, like nouns of the form יָבַשׁ.

2. Before הָ, כֶּם, לָ, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. אָכַלְכֶם your eating Gen. 3, 5 יַמְדָּךְ thy standing Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in קָצְרֶכֶם your harvesting Lev. 19, 9 (restoring orig. *û*), and מִאֲסַחְכֶם (mō-ōs'-khēm) your condemning Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ê* of the Suff. הָ, כֶּם, לָ, is changed into *S'ghōl* e. g. הִפְרִיחַ Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *i* e. g. פָּרַשְׁכֶם Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qāl* (קָאֵל) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In קָטֹלְנִי (pronounced qāṭōl'ēni) the *Sh'wā* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רֹדֶה־פָּה־נִי rōdē-phē-ni, without Dāghēsh in the פ (§ 21, 2, a). The forms קָטֹל, קָטְלֵנִי, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קָטֹלְנָה the masculine form קָטְלֵנָה is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in שְׁלַח, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mēs*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf. A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שְׁלַחְנִי send thou me Is. 6, 8, בְּהַנִּי prove thou me Ps. 26, 2. קְרֵאֵנִי call thou me Ps. 50, 15, שְׁמַעְנִי Gen. 23, 8. בִּצְעֵם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בִּצְעֵם) with toneless *ām* as in the *perf.* after 3d *sing. fem.* § 59, Rem. 3. In the *Imp.* of *Hiph'il*, not the form הִקְטֵל, but הִקְטִיל is used (i on account of the open syllable); e. g. הִקְרִיבֵהוּ offer it Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as *nouns* of the like form do, e. g. קָטֵל, רֹדֵף, רֹדֶף etc. On the contrary before the *Sh'wā mobile* יִצְרֶה etc., or by sharpening אִרְבֶּה Exod. 23, 4, אִסְקֶה 2 K. 22, 20; from מָקַט is formed מִקְטֵל, מִקְטֶלָּה etc. (by sharpening *ē* into *ī*, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קָטֹלְנִי (*my killing one*) and קָטֹלְנִי (*killing me*) see § 135, 2.

II. THE WEAK VERB.¹

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a *guttural* for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

¹ See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghēsh forte*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like יָחַד (§ 63, 2), the original *ā* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *i* in the so-called strong verb, as in יָחַד. Of course the א and ה come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the א in a part of the verbs א"ע, § 68, as well as in some א"ע § 73, Rem. 4 and in all א"ל § 74. In all these cases the א is originally a full consonant, while ה in verbs ה"ל was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant ה at the end of the word is known by the *Mappiq*; but the ה shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63–65).

§. 63.

VERBS PĒ (פ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עָמַד to stand. Paradigm D.

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Sh'wā* (קָטָל, קָטִילָם), it takes here always a *composite Sh'wā* (*Chātēph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. Inf. עָמַד to stand, אָכַל to eat, Perf. עָמַדְתָּ, עָמַדְתָּם from קָטָל to be inclined.

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chātēph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original *ā* remains or is attenuated into *ī*. Examples *a*) for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: *יְחַמֵּד*, *יְחַמֵּל*, *יְחַשֵּׁב* etc. (and thus mostly with initial ח in *Impf. Qal*, sometimes with forms repeating *ā* as *Châteph* under the guttural e. g. *יְחַשֵּׁב* etc.); the same in the *impf. Hiph'il* *יְחַסֵּר* etc. Very rarely the original *ā* is found in a closed syllable under the *preform.* נ of the *Perf. Niph'al*: *נִחַמָּהוּ* Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand *ā* occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Châteph Pāthäch* e. g. *נִחַמְּהוּ* etc. likewise in the *Particip.* *נִחְמָה* Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b*) slightly closed, with *Châteph* after the original vowel: *יְחַלֵּם*, *יְחַמֵּד*, *יְחַלֵּס* (and so almost always with פ and ח in *Impf. Qāl* and *Hiph'il*; *יְחַמֵּד*, *יְחַמֵּד* in *Höph'āl*). — The *ī* attenuated from *ā* is almost always changed before gutturals into *S'ghôl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *S'ghôl* appears partly *c*) in closed syllables e. g. *יְחַמֵּשׁ*, *יְחַסֵּר*, *יְחַמֵּר*, *יְחַמֵּשׁ*, *יְחַמֵּשׁ* and so almost always in the *Impf. Qāl* with *ā* in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. *יְחַמֵּשׁ* etc., in *Hiph.* *יְחַסֵּר* etc., and partly *d*) slightly closed, followed by *Châteph S'ghôl* e. g. *יְחַמֵּשׁ*, *יְחַמֵּשׁ* in *Impf. Qāl* (however never with פ); *יְחַמֵּד* *Hiph.* *יְחַמֵּד* *Niph'al*.

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" *a*) and *e*)) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" *b*) and *d*)). 2) In the 1. *sing. Impf. Qāl* the preformative Aleph receives continually א, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Pāthäch* of the preformative into *S'ghôl* and *vice versa*, e. g. *יְחַמֵּד*, but 3. *sing. fem.* *יְחַמֵּדָה*; *יְחַמֵּשׁ*, but *יְחַמֵּשָׁה*; *יְחַמֵּר*, but *יְחַמֵּרָה* etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Châteph S'ghôl* group into the lighter *Châteph Pāthäch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *S'ghôl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Pāthäch*. In this case all the formations of the *verba primae gutturalis* (Pē guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from *ī* to *ē* in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like *יְחַמֵּד*, *יְחַמֵּר*, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into *simple Sh'wā* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the affirmatives (ו, —, ה), then the composite *Sh'wâ* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as יַעֲמֹד, plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ (sound *yä-äm'-dhû'*), יַעֲזֹבָה *she is forsaken*. But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יִתְּבָלוּ *they take a pledge* (also יִתְּבָלוּ), יִתְּזַקְרוּ as well as יִתְּזַקְרוּ *they are strong*. Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Šéré*, as יַעֲמֹד for יַעֲמֹד (§ 22, 1).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. In verbs מֵא the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp.* take (—) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence יִגִּידְּךָ *gird thou* Job 38, 3, אֲהַבְּךָ *love thou* Hos. 3, 1, אֲכַלְּךָ *to eat*, with a prefix לֹאֲכֹלְךָ. The (—) is found also at times, as in *Inf.* אֲדַוּ 1 K. 6, 6; e. g. אֲכַלְּךָ Num. 26, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *S'ghôl*, as יִשְׁטֹף *strip thyself* Is. 47, 2, עֲרֹכֶךָ (for עֲרֹךְ, w. ה cohort.) *set thyself* Job 33, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as אֲהַבְּךָ Ps. 31, 24. *Päthäch* occurs in יִתְּבָלוּ *pledge him* Prov. 20, 16, and perhaps Ps. 9, 14 (יִתְּבָלוּ).

2. The *Impf. A*, as the *Parad.* shows, has regularly under the first two letters —; and with the hard combination — as יִיָּדֵל *he ceases*, יִיָּדֵם *he is wise*. This is true likewise of some verbs *Pē Guttural*, which are also verbs לִיָּה, as יִיָּדֵם *he sees*, יִיָּדֵם *he divides*, but some are like יִיָּדֵם, יִיָּדֵם. The pointing — is found even in verbs *Impf. O*, but less frequently, as יִיָּדֵם *he collects*, יִיָּדֵם *he lays bare*. The form יִיָּדֵם and *she loves* Ez. 23, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing — is frequently shortened to — (according to § 27, Rem. 5), as יִיָּדֵם *he binds*, plur. with suffix יִיָּדֵם, also יִיָּדֵם. The form יִיָּדֵם, Ps. 7, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qāl* (יִיָּדֵם) and *Pi* (יִיָּדֵם), can be considered only as a further change from יִיָּדֵם (comp. § 64. Rem. 3 יִיָּדֵם); יִיָּדֵם Ex. 9, 23 is similar.

II. On Hiph'îl and Hō'phâl.

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of — to — occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Waw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as *הָצַבְתָּ* *thou didst set*, but with the *Wāw* *וְהָצַבְתָּ* *and thou shalt set* Num. 8, 6, 8, 13, 27, 19; *וְהָצַבְתָּ*, but *וְהָצַבְתָּ* Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, *—* is sometimes changed into *—*, and *—* into *—* in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Methēg*, e. g. *הָצַבְתָּ* *thou leddest over* Josh. 7, 7, *הָצַבְתָּ* *he brings up* Hab. 1, 15; *הָצַבְתָּ* Judg. 6, 28, Nah. 2, 8. On an other case of this kind (*וְהָצַבְתָּ*) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qōḏl* comp. § 93.

III. In General.

5. In the verbs *הָיָה* *to be* and *חָיָה* *to live* the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf. Qāl* *יִהְיֶה* and *יִחְיֶה* *Niph.* *יִהְיֶה*; only in *Perf. Hiph.* *הָיָה* (2. plur. *יִהְיֶה* Jos. 2, 13). Where initial *ה* and *ח* should have vocal *Sh'wā* this is always replaced by *Chateph S'ghōl* e. g. *יִהְיֶה* *Gen. 24, 60* *יִהְיֶה* Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf. יִהְיֶה* Jos. 5, 8; after the prefixes *ו*, *ב*, *כ*, *ל*, however, the *Chat. S'ghōl* becomes *Sh'wā* and the prefix takes *י*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Sh'wā*; therefore in *Perf. Qāl* *יִהְיֶה*, *Imper. יִהְיֶה*, *Inf. יִהְיֶה* etc. The only exception is the 2. masc. of the *Imper.* after *Wāw*: *יִהְיֶה* Gen. 12, 2, *יִהְיֶה* Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs *מָא* in which the *מ* loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS 'ĀYIN (ע) GUTTURAL.

E. g. *שָׁחַט* *to slaughter*. Paradigm E.

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,¹ and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Sh'wā* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Sh'wā*, viz. the *Chāṭēph-Pāṭhāch* (—); e. g. *Perf.* *שָׁחַט*, *Impf.* *שֹׁחֵט*, *Imp. Niph.* *שֹׁחֵט*. In the *Imp. Qāl* before the affirmatives *ו* and *ו* the original *Pāṭhāch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Chāṭēph-*

¹ *Hōph'āl*, which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qāl*: *Hāph'āl* is regular.

Pāthāch, the syllable being only slightly closed; but in אֶרְבִּי the preference of the א for *Sghol* has caused the change from *ā* to *ē* and in שְׁחָדִי Job 6, 22 the *i* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf. Qāl* w. suff. as in Is. 9, 6 סָעֲדָה to support it (but צָעֲדָה thy marching Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, 2, b) אֶרְבָּה to love, נֶאֱבָה to languish.—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chōlēm* in *Inf. Qāl* שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט retained, but also, for the most part, the *Šéré* in *Impf. Niph.* and *Pi.* יָרָחַם he fights, יִרְחַם he comforts, and even the more feeble *Sghōl* (after *Wāw* consecutive) יִרְעָחַם. But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl*, the last syllable generally takes (—), through the influence of the guttural even in *transitive* verbs, e. g. יִשָּׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; יִצָּק, יִצַּק; יִבָּחַר, יִבְחַר (seldom like יִרְחַם, יִרְאֹחַ), with suff. in the *Imp.* שְׁאֲלֹנִי, בְּחַנִּי, in the *Impf.* יִשְׁאֲלֹנִי; with the *ō* in *Imper. Qāl* is found only כָּלֵל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָחֹז Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 fem. אֶחְזִי Ruth. 3, 15 (so according to *Kimchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chātēph-Qāmēš*; on the other hand in pl. regularly אֶחְזֹז); סָעַד Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סָעַד 19, 5 can only be read *sād* with the abnormal lengthening for סָעַד); finally, here also belongs זָעַמָּה instead of זָעַמָּה Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as יִרְחַם, יִרְאֹחַ comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi.*, *Pāthāch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as נָחַם to comfort.

3. In *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, the *Dāghēsh fortē* is inadmissible in the middle stem-letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ע, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dāghēsh fortē implicitum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* שָׂחַק, *Inf.* שִׁחַק to sport, *Pu.* רָחַץ to be washed, *Hithp. Imper.* הִשְׁחָדוּ cleanse yourselves. The complete omission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר e. g. בָּרַךְ to bless, *Impf.* יִבְרַךְ, *Pā āl* בִּרְךָ; before א it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, בָּאֵל, מָאֵן, מָאָר and in the *Hithpā'ēl*

of באש, ראה, and שמה; on the other hand א is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* נאם (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) to commit a *dultery*, נאץ to *despise* (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17) נאך to *abhor* Lam. 2, 7 (also נארה Ps. 89, 40) and נאל Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* נאש Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pu' al* נא Job 33, 21 the א should be written with *Dāghē'sh fortē*, according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb נאל to *ask, beg* some forms of the *Perfect Qāl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' Heb. Lex.), comp. נאלך Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, נאלך Ps. 137, 3, נאלך 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, נאלך Judg. 13, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph.* נאלך 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original *ā*) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the *ī* (attenuated from *ā*) would be lengthened into *ē* (before the tone); in the three following cases *ī* would be changed into *ē*.

2. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Šerē* of the final syllable shortened to *Sēghōl*, viz.—*a*) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. *b*) as נאלך in order to serve there Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—*b*) After *Wāw* consecutive, as נאלך and he blessed Gen. 1, 22, נאלך and he drove out Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qāl* נאלך Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere נאלך etc., in *pause* נאלך, comp. § 63, Rem. 2); נאלך Gen. 32, 5 (for נאלך); in the *Perf.* of *Pi.*: נאלך they delay Jud. 5, 28, for נאלך; and the similar form נאלך she conceived me Ps. 51, 7, for נאלך; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* נאלך Job 13, 21 and נאלך Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Pāthāch* in *pause* (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the א, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĒDH (ל) GUTTURAL.

E. g. נאלך to send. *Paradigm F.*

1. According to § 22, 2, *a* and *b*, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an A sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains*, and the guttural takes *Päthäch* *furtive*, or the full vowel *Päthäch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

- a) The strong unchangeable vowels א, ו, י (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol.* קָלָהּ, *Part. pass.* קָלָהּ; *Hiph.* קָלָהּ, *Impf.* קָלָהּ, *Part.* קָלָהּ. So also the *ō*, though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* קָלָהּ, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive קָלָהּ Is. 58, 9 and נָקַד Num. 20, 3).
- b) Instead of the *ō* in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl* we have *ā*, either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the *o* sound in קָלָהּ Is. 27, 4) or because the *Päthäch* was the original vowel, thus: קָלָהּ, קָלָהּ. With *suff.* קָלָהּ, קָלָהּ, see § 60, Rem. 1.
- c) Where *Sērē* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with *ē* and *ā* are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qāl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is קָלָהּ, קָלָהּ, and the full *Päthäch* appears only in the *constr. state* קָלָהּ, קָלָהּ.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (—) at the end, and in *pause*; e. g. קָלָהּ it is diminished Num. 27, 4, comp. קָלָהּ 36, 3; קָלָהּ he cleaves Hab. 3, 9, comp. קָלָהּ Ez. 13, 11, קָלָהּ to swallow Hab. 1, 13, Num. 4, 20 with קָלָהּ Lam. 2, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *Sērē*, but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. קָלָהּ Deut. 22, 7, 1 K. 11, 22, else קָלָהּ to send. Outside of the *pause* there is found קָלָהּ Hab. 1, 16 and even קָלָהּ 2 K. 16, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* קָלָהּ Ps. 86, 4 (with *D'chî*): on the other hand in *pause* קָלָהּ Ez. 21, 11 as *Imper. Niphal*. An example of *ā* in *Imper. Pi'el* through the influence of a closing ר is קָלָהּ Job 36, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. קָלָהּ prosper thou, קָלָהּ and he caused to trust, קָלָהּ and he caused to sprout. The *Inf. absol.* takes (—), as קָלָהּ to make high; but as *Inf. constr.* also קָלָהּ occurs in Job 6, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Sh'wā* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Sh'wā quiescent*, which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as קָלָהּ, קָלָהּ. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Päthäch* takes its place, as קָלָהּ (§ 28, 4), yet comp. קָלָהּ 1 K. 14, 3.

The softer combination with (—) for (—) occurs only in some examples of the 1. plur. *Perf.* when the tone is thrown forward, as יָדַעְנוּ *we know thee* Hos. 6, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, לָ, as אֶשְׁלַחְךָ *I will send thee* 1 Sam. 16, 1, אֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gen. 31, 27, אֶשְׁלַחְךָ Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs נָד, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS נָד.

E. g. נָד to approach. *Paradigm H.*

The weakness of initial נ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphæresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imperf.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, a). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (v. above) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphæresis* of the *Nûn a* in the *inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have *a* in the 2d syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: נָד, *Imperf.* נָד, *Inf.* really נָד, but always enlarged with ר to the Segholate form נָדָר; with *Suff.* נָדָר Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from נָדָר); with the concurrence of a guttural נָד to touch, *Imperf.* נָד, *Inf.* נָדָר (also נָדָר); נָד to plant, *Inf.* נָדָר (also נָדָר). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נָד to give v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָד to fall, *Imperf.* נָד, *Inf.* נָד, with *Suff.* נָדָר also נָדָר (which originated from נָד, נָדָר).—b) In the *Imperf.* Here the dropping of the *Nûn* takes place everywhere in verbs with *a* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָד, *Imperf.* נָד (frequently with *paragog. āh* נָדָר, before *Mäqqēph* also נָד Gen. 19, 9), נָד etc., however also with *ō* נָד Ruth 2, 14, and נָד 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nûn* preserved is found only נָד 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Imperf.* נָד without the assimilation).

lation of the *Nûn*; comp. also of verbs ל"ה which are at the same time נ"ח: ע"ז Ez. 32, 18, נ"ח Gen. 32, 34). Here also *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ô* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נ"צ, נ"ץ etc.

2. Whenever *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, a); viz., a) in the *Impf. Qāl*, e. g. יפ"ל for יפ"ל *he will fall*, ינ"ש for ינ"ש, ית"ן for ית"ן *he will give* (the *Impf. O*, as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Impf. E* only in this example);¹—b) in the *Perf. Niph.*, e. g. נ"ש for נ"ש;—c) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbûʿ*), according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. ה"ש, ה"ש, for ה"ש, ה"ש.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. *Perf.*, *Inf. absol.*, *Part. Qāl*, all *Pi'êl*, *Pû'âl*, etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The characteristic of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghē'ah fortè* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs פ"י (§ 71) and even in verbs ע"י (§ 67, 5). The *Inf. פ"ש* and the *Imp. פ"ש*, also פ"ש (Gen. 19, 9) and פ"ן, coincide with those of verbs פ"י (§ 69).—On יפ"ח, יפ"ח (from ל"קח to take), see below in Rem. 2.—יפ"ח is *Impf. Niph.* of פ"ח, and so in all weak verbs ע"י (§ 72, 4).—Also אפ"ס (Ps. 139, 8) is not from פ"ס, but contracted from אפ"ס from פ"ס to ascend (see § 19, 2, Rem.).

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn*, before a firm consonant, e. g. *Impf. ינ"ר* *he keeps* Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere ינ"ר), of נ"צ the pausal form is always ינ"צ (outside of the pause ינ"צ Prov. 20, 28); in the same way the *Nûn* is retained with the pause in Ps. 61, 8, 140, 2, 5, Prov. 2, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as ינ"ר, *to melt* Ez. 23, 20, ינ"ר, *they are cut off* Judg. 20, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as ינ"ר *he will possess*. In these verbs the *Nûn* only rarely falls away, as ינ"ר for ינ"ר *he will descend*; *Niph.* ינ"ר *he has comforted himself*.

2. Like the *Nûn* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the ל of the verb ל"קח (*to take*) is also treated. Hence *Impf. Qāl* יק"ח, *Imp. ק"ח* in pause and be-

¹ The *Impf. A* (ינ"ש) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in ינ"ש.

fore *suff.* קָח, *paragog.* קָחָה; קָחַי etc. (comp. however also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16. לָקַחַי 1 K. 17, 11); *Inf. constr.* קָחָה (w. *suff.* קָחָהּ), *Hoph. Impf.* יִקָּח, but *Niph'al* is always יִקָּח.

3. The above mentioned verb קָח to give furnishes the only example of an *Imperf.* with *ē* (יִקָּח for יִקָּחַי); corresponding to which also we have the *Imperf.* יִקָּח or (very frequently) יִקָּחָה, before *Maqqēph* יִקָּחָה, *fem.* יִקָּחִי etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the final *Nūn*) is assimilated, as יִקָּחָהּ for יִקָּחָהּי, יִקָּחָהּ for יִקָּחָהּי (very frequently יִקָּחָהּ as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated *נ*); *Niph'al Perf.* יִקָּחָהּ Lev. 23, 25.—Also in the *Inf. constr.* *Qāl* the groundform יִקָּחָהּ has not been enlarged into יִקָּחָהּי (comp. יִקָּחָהּ from יִקָּחָהּי) but contracted into יִקָּחָהּ, and this was afterward lengthened into יִקָּחָהּ when the *Dāghē'sh fortè* was dropped v. § 20, 3, a; therefore with the suffixes יִקָּחָהּי, יִקָּחָהּי etc. (before *Maqqēph* with the prefix ל־=יִקָּחָהּ e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the *Inf. constr.* in יִקָּחָהּ Num. 20, 21 and יִקָּחָהּ Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the *נ* as third radical is retained, יִקָּחָהּי, יִקָּחָהּי. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the *Nūn* with a strong vowel in יִקָּחָהּ for יִקָּחָהּי 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, a.

§ 67.

VERBS 'ĀYĪN DOUBLED (ע"ב).

E. g. קָבַב to surround. *Paradigm G.*

1. The principal irregularity of these verbs consists in the utterance of the second and third radicals often as one doubled letter, as קָבַב (contracted from the original form *sābhābhū*) for קָבַבִּי (Rem. 10 below), even when a full vowel should regularly stand between them, as קָבַב for קָבַב, קָבַב (from the orig. *sābhābhā*, contr. *sābbā*) for קָבַב. Those forms are not contracted which contain unchangeable vowels, or a *Dāghē'sh fortè*, as קָבַבִּי, קָבַבִּי, קָבַבִּי.

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its *second* syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. *Perf.* קָבַב for קָבַב; קָבַבִּי for קָבַבִּי (both from the original *sābhābhāth*), *Inf.* קָבַב for קָבַב; *Hiph.* קָבַבִּי for קָבַבִּי (comp. No. 6).

3. The *Dāghē'sh fortè*, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סָבַר, סָבַר, *Impf.* יִסְבֹּר, but not סָב, סָב.

4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ר), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghē'sh of the final stem-letter¹ (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is *i*, in the Imp. and Impf. יִ, e. g. סָבֹר, סָבֹר, *Impf.* הִסְבִּירָה (for *sabb-ta*, *sabb-nu*, *t'sobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf. Qāl*, *Perf.* of *Niph.*, *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יִסְבֹּב instead of יִסְבֹּב), take, instead of the short vowel of the regular form, the corresponding long one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf. Hiph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּב, *Imper.* הִסְבֹּב for הִסְבֹּב etc. Where the preformatives now have *i*, either the original *ā* (which was attenuated into *i*) is restored and lengthened e. g. יִסְבֹּב in *Impf. Qāl* from original יִסְבֹּב, or the *i* itself is lengthened into *ē* e. g. הִסְבֹּב *Perf. Hiph.* for הִסְבֹּב (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the *ū* of the Hophal lengthened from *ū* הִסְבֹּב for הִסְבֹּב); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 2, becomes necessarily *Sh'wā* (under א and ה composite *Sh'wā*) e. g. הִסְבֹּב but הִסְבִּירָה; הִסְבֹּב but הִסְבִּירָה; *Hiph. Perf.* הִסְבִּירָה etc.

NB. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghēsh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּב, *Impf. Hiph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּב, *Hoph.* יִסְבֹּב for יִסְבֹּב. These forms do not usually take Dāghēsh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as יִסְבֹּב *they bow themselves* (from יִסְבֹּב), and יִסְבֹּב *and they smote* (from יִסְבֹּב), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem trilateral;

¹ No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. Rödiger refers to the analogy of the verbs לִיח in forms like לִיחִי, לִיחִי, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But Rödiger was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta*, *madadti*, *madadtu* uses the forms *maddēt*, *maddēti*, *maddit* and even *maddāt*. The latter form also indicate that the *ō* in the *Perf.* of ע"ע verbs has also been derived from an original *ā*.

but see also וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ Judg. 18, 23, וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ *they will tinkle* (from שָׁכַב Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ (for וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ *we perished*) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs ע"י (comp. וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ from שָׁכַב). On *Niph.* see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf.* Qāl. יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs ע"י § 72); *b*) in the *Perf. Niph.* יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Imperf.* יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב (comp. on *ā* in the final syllable of strong imperfections Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב, *Imperf.* יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel *i* underlies the intransitive *Imperf.* Qāl with *ā* in the second syllable e. g. יִמַּר for יִמַּר (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original *ā* (יִמַּר) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'il* יִשְׁכַּב from יִשְׁכַּב (groundform יִשְׁכַּב § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying *i* in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original *ā*, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into *i* (§ 53, 1). The *ē*, lengthened from *i* is of course only tonelong, therefore יִשְׁכַּב outside of the tone before *Dāghē'sh fortē*. (On the return of the original *ā* in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (הִיא, הִי, הִי, § 40, 2), but remains *before* them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d sing. fem. *Imperf.* הִיא, *pause* הִיא; with ר and gutturals מִרָּה (for מִרָּה) Ps. 44, 26; with ר *consec.* however רָּהָה Is. 6, 12. In the 3d pl. perf. the accent varies; besides רָּהָה is found also רָּהָה, רָּהָה (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* רָּהָה, רָּהָה etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* רָּהָה etc. (comp. however רָּהָה Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Imperf. Qāl* in יִשְׁכַּב, יִשְׁכַּב *Hiph.* יִשְׁכַּב, יִשְׁכַּב (*Perf. Hiph.* יִשְׁכַּב, יִשְׁכַּב etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. יִשְׁכַּב, יִשְׁכַּב etc. (excepting before the always accented ending יִשְׁכַּב and יִשְׁכַּב in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$ into i and u (δ v. Rem. 2), therefore הַסְבִּירָה from הַסֵּב , הַסְבִּירָה from הִסֵּב (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).¹

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pō ē'l* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pō ā'l*) and reflexive (*Hithpō ē'l*); e. g. עִלֵּל to treat ill, pass. עִלֵּל , reflex. הִתְעִלֵּל (from עָלַל); in some is found also *Pilpē'l* (§ 55, 4), as גָּלַגַּל to roll, הִתְגָּלַגַּל to roll one's self (from גָּלַל), *Pilp.* שָׁעֲשַׁע to caress, with its pass. (*Pōlpā'l*) שָׁעֲשַׁע to be caressed, and reflex. (*Hithpālpā'l*) הִשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע to delight oneself Ps. 119, 16 (from שָׁעַע). These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithpā ēl*.

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlēm*, orig. *u* (comp. רָבַח , § 43, 1), as רָבַחְתָּ they are high (from רָבַח) Job 24, 24, רָבַחְתָּ (from רָבַח) Gen. 49, 23; really, also וָרַח Is. 1, 6 from וָרַח .

2. The *Chōlēm* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (רָבַח , רָבַחְתָּ) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography; e. g. לָבַז for לָבַז to plunder Est. 3, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmēq-chātūph* or *Qibbāq*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* רָנַח (*rōn*) to rejoice Job 38, 7; with *suff. Imp.* 2d sing. fem. רָנִי , רָנִי (comp. Rem. 12); רָחֵם pity me, *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּרַח Judg. 9, 18, with *suff.* וַיָּרַחֵם he lays them waste Prov. 11, 3 in Q'ri. In וַיָּרַחֵם Gen. 43, 29, Is. 30, 19 (for וַיָּרַחֵם) this δ is put back under the preformative. In קָבַחְתָּ Num. 23, 11, 17 and קָבַחְתָּ 23, 6, 23, 7 the suffix of the $\text{וָ$ *paragogic* takes place without any other change of the form; one would expect קָבַחְתָּ , קָבַחְתָּ . Still more striking is קָבַחְתָּ curse him Num. 23, 13 (for קָבַחְתָּ or קָבַחְתָּ). We have also קָבַח for קָבַח Num. 23, 25 and שָׁלַח as *inf. abs.* instead of שָׁלַח in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Pāthāch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (קָנַח , קָנַחְתָּ), are the following: *Inf.* שָׁח to stoop Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* גָּל roll thou Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* הָמַר he is bitter Is. 24, 9, רָךְ he is soft Is. 7, 4; וַחֲסַל

¹ The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as מְסַבֵּר , מְסַבֵּרָה .

she was despised Gen. 16, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. יָרִיעַ Gen. 21, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfections comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfections with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *u* into *ū* (instead of *o*) e. g. יָרִיעַ Prov. 29, 6; יָשַׁע Ps. 91, 6; יָרִיעַ (from רָצַח) Is. 42, 4 (even defectively יָרִיעַ Eccl. 12, 6). An analogy with the verbs עָלַי is also seen in the infinitive לָבִי (בִּי) Eccl. 9, 1; מָתְקִי Prov. 8, 27 (comp. מְרִיבִי 8, 29) for מָתְקִי. Examples of the *Aramaicising Impf.* are יָשַׁע (though יָשַׁע is also in use), יָשַׁע *he is astonished* 1 K. 9, 8, יָשַׁע *they are silent* Job 29, 21; with *ā* e. g. יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramaean form שָׁמַע (for שָׁמַע) Jer. 30, 16 in K^{thibh} (the Q^{rt} regards it as a *Part.* from שָׁמַע).

II. On Nīphāl.

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (נָקַח) with Pāthāch and of the *Part.* (מ. נָקַח, f. נִקְחָה) with Qāmeṣ in 2d syllable, there is still another with Šērē, and another with Chōlēm (analogous to נָשַׁל, נָבַר, נָשַׁל, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. Perf. נָשַׁל (also נָשַׁל) *it is a light thing* Is. 49, 6, נָשַׁל (for נָשַׁל) Ez. 26, 2; *Part.* נָשַׁל *wasted away* Nah. 2, 11; with Chōlēm, נָשַׁל *they are rolled together* Is. 34, 4, comp. 63, 19, 64, 2, Am. 3, 11, Nah. 1, 12; in *Impf.* נָשַׁל *he is circumcised* Gen. 17, 12; נָשַׁל *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. 49, 2. *Inf.* forms with the Pāthāch do not even exist, but those with Šērē and Chōlēm, as *Inf.* נָשַׁל *to melt* Ps. 68, 3, *Inf. absol.* נָשַׁל *to be plundered* Is. 24, 3; in the *Imp.* only נָשַׁל *cleanse yourselves* Is. 63, 11 and נָשַׁל *raise yourselves up* Num. 17, 10, נָשַׁל Jer. 4, 4 follows the analogy of עָלַי verbs (as the *imperf.* נָשַׁל Gen. 34, 24).—Peculiar forms of Nīphāl (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in נָשַׁל *it was profaned* Ez. 25, 3 (from נָשַׁל), נָשַׁל (from נָשַׁל) Ps. 69, 4, 103, 4 (also נָשַׁל Jer. 6, 29), נָשַׁל *fractus est* (from נָשַׁל) Mal. 2, 5.—In Micah 2, 4 the Perf. נָשַׁל, *ū* instead of *o* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. On Hīphāl and Hōphāl.

6. Besides Šērē the final syllable has also Pāthāch, especially with *ā* and the gutturals, as נָשַׁל *he made bitter*; נָשַׁל *to depress*; *Inf.* נָשַׁל *to cleanse* Jer. 4, 11. But also without a guttural, as נָשַׁל *he pounded small* 2 K. 23, 15; plur. נָשַׁל 1 Sam. 5, 10; *Part.* נָשַׁל *shadowing* Ez. 31, 3. The *ē* of the 2d syllable may become *ē* outside the tone e. g. נָשַׁל Gen. 31, 7. Instead of Chāṭēph Pāthāch there appears before *ā* also Pāthāch (with the virtual doubling of the *ā*) in forms like נָשַׁל Is. 9, 3.

7. In the *imperf.* the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of *ē* into *ē* occurs not only in the *jussive* and with *Wāw consecutive* (e. g. נָשַׁל Gen. 29, 10; with final guttural נָשַׁל 1 K. 6, 11) but also elsewhere e. g. נָשַׁל *he protects* Ps. 91, 4. Quite peculiar is נָשַׁל Judges 9, 53 with *ī* for *ē*.

8. *Aramaicising forms of Hiph. and Hoph.*: יִשְׁכַּח Ex. 18, 18, יִשְׁכַּח and they smote Deut. 1, 44, יִשְׁכַּח I will profane Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* יִשְׁכַּח they despised her Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* יִשְׁכַּח they perish Job 24, 24, יִשְׁכַּח it is smitten Is. 24, 12 (plur. יִשְׁכַּח Jer. 46, 5), יִשְׁכַּח in pause (Job 19, 23) for יִשְׁכַּח, also יִשְׁכַּח Job 4, 20.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs עִצֵּ are very nearly related to verbs עִצִּ (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs עִצֵּ are generally the shorter (comp. עִצֵּ and עִצִּ and עִצִּ). In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of Qāl and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. יִרְדֵּן for יִרְדֵּן he rejoices Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf.* Qāl עִצֵּ 1 Sam. 7, 16, עִצֵּ Josh. 6, 15, עִצֵּ Ps. 18, 6, עִצֵּ and עִצֵּ they bow down, עִצֵּ to plunder Ez. 29, 19, plur. עִצֵּ Josh. 8, 27, עִצֵּ Deut. 2, 35 (also עִצֵּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* עִצֵּ and עִצֵּ; *Infim.* after לִ: עִצֵּ Jer. 47, 4, עִצֵּ Gen. 31, 19 (also עִצֵּ 38, 13); with suffix עִצֵּ Is. 80, 18 and of the same form עִצֵּ with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected עִצֵּ Ps. 102, 14; *Imper.* עִצֵּ Jer. 49, 28; *Imperf.* עִצֵּ Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from עִצֵּ: the strong form was after the assimilation of the *Nûn* quite necessary. On the other hand עִצֵּ Jer. 5, 6 for עִצֵּ is anomalous; the contracted consonants have been afterwards dissevered by the insertion of a vocal *Shewâ*. Compare also עִצֵּ he is gracious Amos 5, 15, else עִצֵּ, In *Niph.* עִצֵּ Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* עִצֵּ, *Impf.* עִצֵּ he will rejoice (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* עִצֵּ astonished Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in עִצֵּ עִצֵּ in Ps. 118, 11) (compare עִצֵּ Is. 47, 14 (perh. for עִצֵּ) for their warming.)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the Dāghēsh of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before affirmatives, which however take the tone, as עִצֵּ. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf.* Qāl עִצֵּ for עִצֵּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Imperf.* עִצֵּ 1 Sam. 14, 36 (— *paragog.* without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Shewâ*: עִצֵּ Gen. 11, 7 for עִצֵּ we will confound (Cohortative from עִצֵּ) for עִצֵּ Gen. 11, 6 they will devise; *Perf.* *Niph.* עִצֵּ for עִצֵּ Ez. 41, 7, עִצֵּ Gen. 17, 11 (from עִצֵּ = עִצֵּ to circumcise); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without Dāghēsh, but with the accented full vowel: עִצֵּ for עִצֵּ Judg. 16, 10, עִצֵּ for עִצֵּ Prov. 7, 13, עִצֵּ 1 Sam. 14, 36, comp. עִצֵּ Is. 57, 5 for עִצֵּ.

12. Though the tone is here less attracted to the endings (comp. No. 7 above, p. 163), yet this exceptionally happens at times—*a*) in the *Perf.*, specially if it stands in the sense of a present tense (§ 126, 3), as in רַבִּים (*they are many*) Ps. 3, 2, 104, 24, Jer. 5, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 10 (with לַיּוֹם *to-day*), רַבִּים (*they are soft*) Ps. 55, 22, קָלִים (*they are swift*) Jer. 4, 13, Hab. 1, 8, טָהוֹרִים (*they are pure*) Job 15, 15, 25, 5;—*b*) in the *Imper.* (demanding in excited tone), as in רָנִי (*rejoice aloud!*) Is. 54, 1, Zeph. 3, 14, Zesh. 2, 14, רָנִי Is. 44, 23, 49, 13, Jer. 31, 7 (but רָנִי *wail!* Lam. 2, 19), חַגְּגִי *celebrate* (thy festivals) Nah. 2, 1, Jer. 7, 29;—*c*) in forms with pronominal suffix (this accords with the general law about the tone, § 29, 1, 2), as in סָבְעִי, סָבְעִי Ps. 118, 11, and here the vowels before the *Dāghēsh* suffer the changes pointed out in § 27, 1, viz., *Chōlēm* in the *Impf.* becomes *Qibbūṣ*, more seldom *Qāmēṣ-shāfūph* (so too רָנִי above under letter *b*), *Ṣērē* in *Hiph.* becomes *Chirēq* (after the analogy of חִירֶק, חִירֶק); the preformatives then, in place of the full vowel, take *Sh'wā*, e. g. יִשְׁכַּרְוּ Ps. 49, 6, יִשְׁכַּרְוּ Job 40, 22, יִקְרְאוּ Ps. 67, 2; *Hiph.* יִשְׁכַּרְוּ Ez. 47, 2.

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS מ"ב.

E. g. אָכַל *to eat. Paradigm I.*

So far as the *א* is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pé Guttural*, exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the *א* *quiesces*, i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf.* *Qāl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf.* *Qāl* of five verbs (viz. אָבַד *to perish*, אָבַח *to be willing*, אָכַל *to eat*, אָמַר *to say*, אָפַח *to bake*) the *א* always quiesces in a long *ō* (*Chōlēm*), as אָבַד. In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as יָאָחַז and יָאָחַז *he takes hold*; יָקַם (v. Rem. 2), also יָאָקַם. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *ya'kul* (he eats) becomes *yōkul*.) The *ō* in this case is but a corruption of the vowel *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from —. The last syllable of these verbs receives an *ē* (or *ā*) instead of the stronger vowel *ō* (orig. *ū*) e. g. יִאָחַז Job 17, 9, mostly *ē* with distinctive accents and before the accented affirmative וְ; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes *ā* (*Päthäch*), e. g. תֹּאבֵד לְעַד Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary תֹּאבֵד (compare a similar exchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65, 1, c) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Päthäch*, as יִאָבֵד יוֹם *perish the day* Job 3, 3, וַיֹּאכַל *and he ate*, and sometimes *S'ghôl*, as in וַיִּמְלֵךְ (*Mil'él*) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיִּמְלֵךְ (*Milrā'*) with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיִּמְלֵךְ *Mil'él*). Of אָחַז the weak imperf. is always יִאָחַז and וַיִּאָחַז (however וַיִּאָחַז Judges 20, 6; comp. וַיֹּאכַל Gen. 3, 12 in *pause*).—אָבַח and אָבָה are at the same time verbs ל"ה; hence Impf. יִאָבַח (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that *S'ēzē* stands before א in Impf. *Qāl*, as תִּאָחַז *it shall come* (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תִּאָחַז (from אָחַז), אָהֵב (in 1st sing. only for אָהֵב) *I love* (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אָהֵב (from אָהֵב, אָהֵב); but always in the Inf. with ל, as in לֵאמֹר *for to say* (i. e. *saying*) for לֵאמֹר.

2. In the 1st pers. sing. Impf. the second (the radical) א (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אֶמַר for אָאמַר *I will say*, וְאָמַר *and I said*. In the other cases, where the א is generally conceived of as quiescent with *ō* or *ē*, it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of אָחַז, thus וַיִּחַז for וַיִּאָחַז *thou takest away* Ps. 104, 29, וַיִּחַז *and he gathered* 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and אֶחָז 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with *z* according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more וַיִּחַז 2 Sam. 19, 14, וַיִּחַז 2 Sam. 20, 9, וַיִּחַז Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיִּאָחַז), according to another reading וַיִּחַז, וַיִּחַז or וַיִּחַז, etc.; וַיִּחַז *thou goest away* (from אָחַז) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which א is treated as a quiescent (viz., Impf. *Qāl*), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the א but very seldom quiesces, as in Perf. *Niph.* וַיִּחַז Josh. 22, 9, *Hiph.* וַיִּחַז *and he took away* Num. 11, 25, וַיִּחַז (for וַיִּאָחַז) *and he set an ambush* 1 Sam. 15, 5,

אָזיך *I hearken* Job 33, 11, אָזיך (ô from â) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4, אָזיך (ô from â) *I will destroy* Jer. 46, 8, גיבן גיבן *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4; Imp. בריח בריח *bring ye* (from אָזיך) Is. 21, 14.

2. In Pi. the כ is sometimes dropped by contraction (like פ in יחזקאל, יחזקאל, e. g. מלך (as in Aram., and Samar.) for מלך *teaching* Job 35, 11, יחזקאל for יחזקאל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, תחזקת *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 23, 40 for תחזקת (Ps. 13, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS ע"ו. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY ע"ו.

E. g. יושב *to dwell*. Paradigm K.

Verbs ע"ו fall principally into *two classes*, which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a פ for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with פ (e. g. ילד, Arab. and Ethiop. *wälädä*), but in Hebrew (and Aramæan) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take פ instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form whereas, after preformative the פ either appears again, or is likewise changed into פ, or finally is completely elided. The *second* class embraces those which are properly ע"ו, and which have *Yôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs ע"ו, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third* class which is inflected like verbs פ"ו (§ 71).

In the verb יצר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) יצר (1st class, for יצר) *to be in a strait*, Impf. יצר, יצר;—2) יצר (2d class) *to form*, Impf. יצר, יצר.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class*, which is analogous to the Arabic ע"ו, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf.*, *Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qāl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

Impf. יָשַׁב, with tone-long $\bar{e}$ in both syllables. The vowel of the preformative had $\dot{i}$ (attenuated from $\bar{a}$); after the elision of *Wāw*, this $\dot{i}$ standing in an open syllable had to be changed into a tone-long $\bar{e}$ (the fully written form, as יָשַׁב is extremely rare and incorrect). In the second syllable, five of these forms have an original $\dot{i}$ which in the tone-syllable becomes likewise $\bar{e}$; three verbs however (under the influence of a guttural), take $\bar{a}$: יָדַע, יָקַע, יָחַד.

The tone-long $\bar{e}$ of the 2d syllable may naturally become *S'ghōl* or *Sh'wā*, e. g. יָשַׁב, יָשַׁב etc.; in the same way the $\bar{a}$ become *Sh'wā* in cases like יָדַע etc., but in *pause* it is retained and lengthened into *Qā'mē* (יָדַע) and before suffixes (יָדַע־ם). As the last example shows the tone-long $\bar{e}$ of the 1st syllable is retained, not only before the tone (יָשַׁב etc.) but also with the secondary tone.

Imp. שָׁב, shortened from יָשַׁב by omission of the feeble $\dot{y}$; and—

Inf. שָׁבָה, shortened in like manner, but taking the feminine-ending ת־ , which again lengthens and strengthens the form; comp. § 66, 1.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A*, and retain the *Yôdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יָשַׁב and *Inf.* יָסַד, as a *consonant*, but in

Impf. יָיָש, as a *quiescent*, resolved into the vowel $\dot{i}$ (§ 24, 2).

In the 2d syllable the *Impf.* regularly has $\bar{a}$.

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually יָיָ (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in Qāl, and at the same time have $\dot{y}$ in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs יָיָ have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wāllādū*, *Impf. jālīdu* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wā'gūlū*, *jā'gūlu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yôdh*, the former without it, as יָצַק 2 K. 4, 41, and יָצַק *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Inf.* יָצַק Exod. 38, 27); יָש 1 K. 21, 15, יָש Deut. 2, 24, also יָשָׁש *possess thou*, lengthened יָשָׁש Deut.

33, 23; *Impf.* יִקְדֹּר *he will kindle* Deut. 33, 23, and יָקַד־ *Is.* 10, 16; יִיָּקֵר *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יָקַר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִיָּקֵר Ps. 73, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. יָלַד *to bear* (offspring), יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשָׁב *to sit*, יָרַד *to descend*, יָדַע *to know* (*Impf.* יִדַּע with *Pāthāch* in the last syllable so also, יָרַד, יָרַע); to the second belong יָעָא *to weary*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשָׁן *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf. Niph.* יִשָּׁב, יִשָּׁב (just like יִקָּטֵל, יִקָּטֵל); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. יִתְרַנֵּחַ from יִרְנֹחַ, יִתְרַנֵּחַ from יִרְנֹחַ, and in some noun-forms, e. g. יָלַד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes ו (ו) as in all *Hōph'āl*, e. g. יִשָּׁב for יִשָּׁב; and in combination with a preceding *a*, as a diphthongal ו (ו) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niph'āl*, and in all *Hiph'āl*, e. g. יִשָּׁב for יִשָּׁב, יִשָּׁב for יִשָּׁב.—The *Yōdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part.* *Qāl* (יָשָׁב etc., יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב) even when ו precedes, as יָשָׁב (yet we have יִשָּׁבָם according to § 24, 1, a), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as יָחַל *to wait for*, יָלַד *to be born*, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as יִיָּחַל, יִיָּלַד *known* (from יָדַע), also at times in *Hithp.*, as יִתְיָחַל, יִתְיָלַד (as well as יִתְרַנֵּחַ with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which *Yōdh* does not appear, these verbs may be distinguished, in the *Impf.* of *Qāl* by the *Šērē* under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in יִיָּלַד, is not frequent.) Forms like יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב are common to these and verbs *ע"ע* and *ע"ו*. *Hoph'āl* has the same form as in verbs *ע"ע* and *ע"ו*.

Rem. 1. The *Inf. Qāl* of the weaker form (יָשָׁב *Gdf.* יָשָׁב) takes *suff.* like יָשָׁב; and it very seldom has the masculine form like יָדַע *to know* Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending יָדַע *Ex.* 2, 4. לָחַד *Is.* 37, 3, יָרַד *to descend* Gen. 46, 3. Instead of יָדַע stands יָדַע under the influence of the guttural יָדַע, with *Suff.* יָדַע etc. (on the other hand יָדַע : יָדַע from יָדַע). From יָדַע is found, Ps. 30, 4, in *Qeri* quite notably the strong form יָדַע (for יָדַע).—יָלַד *to bear* in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to יָלַד (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are יָרַח *to fear* Josh. 23, 25, with prep. יָלַח *Is.* 51, 16; with *suffix*, יָרַח Job 33, 4, יָרַח Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine ending, as in יָרַח *to be able*, יָרַח *to dry up* Gen. 3, 7 (also יָרַח *Is.* 37, 11).

2. The *Impf. Qāl* often has the lengthening הֹ, as שִׁבְרוּ *sit thou, descend thou*. From יָדַבּ *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, there is found in Hebrew *only* the *Imper.* which is יָדַבּ *give*, lengthened יִדְבְּרוּ, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before א e. g. Gen. 29, 21 יִדְבְּרוּ, to avoid a hiatus); fem. יִדְבְּרִי Ruth 3, 15, probably *Mif'āl* after the analogy of the plur. יִדְבְּרוּ (but Job 3, 22, before the tone syllable יִדְבְּרוּ; comp. however Deut. 32, 3).

3. The *Impf.* with ו elided takes *ā* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, also in יִדְבְּרוּ Jer. 13, 17 and in the pausal form יִדְבְּרוּ Job 27, 21 (from יִדְבְּרוּ v. Rem. 8). The *ā* returns regularly before the *aff.* נָחַד (פִּזְדָּנִי etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ē* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after ו *consec.*); e. g. יִשְׁבְּנוּ Gen. 44, 33; יִשְׁבְּנוּ but in pause יִשְׁבְּנוּ and יִשְׁבְּנוּ (but 1. p. s. יִשְׁבְּנוּ). The *Impf.* יִירָשׁ, when lengthened, can also lose its radical י, even when the preformative is י, whose vowel (a long *i*) has then *Mêthegh* (see § 16, 2, b), as in יִרָשׁוּ Is. 40, 30, יִרָשׁוּ Is. 65, 23.—From יָכַל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally יִכָּל as the *Impf. Qāl*; comp. the Arab. form *yauru'u* (*yôru'u*) from *warua*, and *yauḡalu* (*yôḡalu*) from *waḡala*; or even the vulgar Arab. *yūḡalu* from *waḡala*. Others regard יִכָּל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of יָכַל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qāl*.

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ā* into *i* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of יָלַד (Num. 11, 12, Ps. 2, 7 etc. always after a preceding י) as well as of יָרָשׁ, e. g. יִירָשׁוּ etc. Deut. 4, 1, 3, 1, 19, 1, 26, 1 (however only after י for יִי). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce י as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *i* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms יִירָשׁוּ Ez. 36, 12 and יִירָשׁוּ Ps. 69, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has י instead of the ו; e. g. וַיִּחַל and *he waited* Gen. 3, 12; comp. Ex. 19, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 8 *K'thībā*.—The first pers. sing. has always the form אֶשְׁבּ not אֶשְׁבּ; comp. § 51, Rem. 4.

6. In *P'āl*, the radical *Yōdh* is sometimes dropped after י preformative, which takes its pointing (like א in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. וַיִּגְדּוּ and *he grieved* Lam. 3, 33, וַיִּגְדּוּ and *they cast*, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb מָי of the second class, וַיִּמְשְׁחוּ and *he dried it up* Nah. 1, 4; comp. וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ 2 Chr. 32, 30 *Q'ri*.

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, *i* is also found in the 2d syllable: הוֹשִׁיב Is. 43, 8; הוֹשִׁיב Ps. 94, 1 (before ו, perhaps a mere misspelling for הוֹשִׁיב); הוֹשִׁיב Prov. 19, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally *ā*, e. g. הוֹשִׁיב, comp. also הוֹשִׁיב Prov. 25, 17. On the other hand *i* appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹשִׁיב and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qāl*, takes *S'ghōl* when the tone

is drawn back, as וַיִּזְכֹּק *let him add* Prov. 1, 5, וַיִּזְכֹּק *and he added* (חִזְקָה) Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause* however also הוֹלִיךְ as *Jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usually, *Jussive in pause*: הוֹלִיכָה etc.; the latter form also outside of the pause after *Wāw consecutive* Gen. 47, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 4). With final guttural הוֹלִיכָה (*Jussive*) and הוֹלִיכָה etc. On forms like הוֹלִיכִי, see § 53, Rem. 7.—In *Hoph.* are some cases of י for ו, as הוֹלִיכִי for הוֹלִיכָה Lev. 4, 23, 38, and הוֹלִיכִי for הוֹלִיכָה Prov. 11, 25. However comp. *Delitzsch*.

8. The verb הוֹלִיךְ *to go* is connected in part with verbs ע"י of the first class, for it forms (as if from הוֹלִיךְ) *Impf.* הוֹלִיכָה, with *Wāw cons.* הוֹלִיכָה, in *pause* הוֹלִיכָה (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* הוֹלִיכָה, w. *suf.* הוֹלִיכָה, לְהוֹלִיכָה, *Imp.* הוֹלִיכָה, w. cohort. הוֹלִיכָה, and also הוֹלִיכָה Num. 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* הוֹלִיכָה. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from הוֹלִיכָה, as *Impf.* הוֹלִיכָה, *Inf.* הוֹלִיכָה (Num. 23, 14, 16, Eccl. 6, 8, 9), *Imp. pl.* הוֹלִיכָה (Jer. 51, 50); on the contrary *Perf. Qāl* is always הוֹלִיכָה, *Part.* הוֹלִיכָה, *Inf. abs.* הוֹלִיכָה, *Niph.* הוֹלִיכָה, *Pt'el* הוֹלִיכָה, *Hithp.* הוֹלִיכָה, so that in this verb a י nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem הוֹלִיכָה may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as הוֹלִיכָה, the feeble letter ו may itself be treated like י, and so the inflection resemble ע"י. Comp. also the feeble הוֹלִיכָה, e. g. הוֹלִיכָה from הוֹלִיכָה (§ 68 2), and הוֹלִיכָה from הוֹלִיכָה, *Impf. Hiph.* הוֹלִיכָה from הוֹלִיכָה like הוֹלִיכָה 2 K. 6, 19 from הוֹלִיכָה.

§ 70.

VERBS ע"י. SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY ע"י.

E. g. הוֹלִיכָה *to be good. Paradigm L.*

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly ע"י and verbs ע"י are the following:—

1. *Qāl* has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical י remains, *Inf.* הוֹלִיכָה, with the *Impf. A.* as הוֹלִיכָה, הוֹלִיכָה, also written הוֹלִיכָה etc.; and so always with accented ä in the 2d syllable, even after *Wāw consec.* הוֹלִיכָה the *Päthäch* of which becomes *S'ghôl* when the tone shifts back, as הוֹלִיכָה *and he awoke* Gen. 9, 24, הוֹלִיכָה (from הוֹלִיכָה) *and he formed* Gen. 2, 7.

2. In *Hiph'il* the י is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal ê (*Sêré*), e. g. הוֹלִיכָה (from הוֹלִיכָה); *Impf.* הוֹלִיכָה, הוֹלִיכָה; uncontracted with the diphthong ai, as in הוֹלִיכָה *they make straight* Prov. 4, 25; הוֹלִיכָה (*Imper.*), Ps. 5, 9 in Q'rî, comp. Gen. 8, 17 in Q'rî.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: *נָצַב* to be good, *נָחַץ* to suck, *נָחַץ* to awake, *נָצַר* to form, *נָלַל* (only in Hiph. *נִלְלִיל*) to bewail, *נָשַׁר* to be straight, *נָבֵשׁ* (Arab. *yābisā*) to be dry (yet like the *נָחַץ*, Hiph. *נִנְבֵּשׁ*) and the Hiph. *נִדְמִין* (denom. of *דָּמִין*) to go to the right.

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: *יִנְיִיב* Job. 24, 21; *יִנְיִל* he wails, *יִנְיִל* I wail, *יִנְיִל* ye wail, Is. 15, 2, 65, 14, Jer. 48, 31, Hos. 7, 14; also *יִנְיִיב* Job 24, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qāl* in *יִנְיִיב* Ps. 138, 6, from *יָנַע*. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yôdh* and *Hê*, assuming as a base the non-syncopeated form *יִנְיִל* (comp. Is. 52, 5) etc. But then also *יִנְיִיב* should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil*. It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (*יִנְיִל*, *יִנְיִיב*) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph.* *יִנְיִיב* Ez. 36, 11 (with separating vowel for *יִנְיִיב*) after the analogy of *נָחַץ* (*Impf. Qāl* for *יִנְיִיב*) Nah. 3, 8; *יִנְיִיב* *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of *נָחַץ*, Exod. 2, 9. In the same way *יִנְיִיב* from *נָחַץ* is always used instead of the *Hiph.* *יִנְיִיב* (from *נָחַץ*). On *יִנְיִיב* Nah. 1, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS *נָחַץ*. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS *נָחַץ*.

This class embraces those verbs *נָחַץ*, of the first and second class, whose *י* does not quiesce in long *i* or *e*, but is assimilated like *נ*. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e. g. *נָצַע* to spread under, *Hiph.* *נָצַע*, *Hoph.* *נָצַע*; *נָצַר* to burn up, *Imp.* *נָצַר*, *Niph.* *נָצַר*, *Hiph.* *נָצַר*; others have two forms, the one *sharp* with the *י* assimilated, the other weaker with the *י* quiescent, as *נָצַק* to pour, *Impf.* *נָצַק* and *נָצַק* (1 K. 22, 35); *נָצַר* to form, *Impf.* *נָצַר* and *נָצַר* (Is. 44, 12, Jer. 1, 5); *נָשַׁר* to be straight, *Impf.* *נָשַׁר* and *נָשַׁר* (for *נָשַׁר* acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. *נָשַׁר* Hos. 10, 10 (1 Sam. 6, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an *s* sound as the second radical, with the exception of *נָצַק* (1 K. 3, 15) and *נָשַׁר* (Gen. 40, 20, Ez. 16, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from *נָשַׁר*.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs *נָחַץ*, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root *נָחַץ* in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yôdh*.

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs וְ, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS וְ.

E. g. קָם to rise up. Paradigm M.

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter ו always gives up its consonant sound and *quiesces*; not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh'wâ precedes or follows, as בּוֹשׁ *bôsh* for בּוֹשׁ *b'wôsh*, but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קָם *Part. Pass.* for קָם; קָם *Inf. absol.* for קָם. Hence the stem or root appears always as a monosyllable.

2. The vowel in which the ו quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.*, v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. *Perf.* קָם from קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *Pl.* קָמָה, but in the closed penult קָמָה etc.;¹ *b*) that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יָקָם from יָקָם (the normal lengthening of *ā* appears again in the *jussive* יָקָם, *Impf. constr.* יָקָם); *Imper.* קָם (from original קָם lengthened normally in 2. *fem. pl.* into

¹ In the Aramæan, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long *ā* is found, as קָמָה, קָמָה etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in *pause*, e. g. קָמָה Mic. 7, 8, קָמָה 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with *Olsk. et al.*) the *ā* of the *Perf. Qāl* קָם as a combination of two *ā*'s which have remained after the elision of the ו in קָם, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massōrā) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this *ā*; for an *ā* contracted from *āā* could hardly be shortened, as it is in קָמָה etc. Nor could *ā* in קָמָה etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from *dāūschti* and not rather by lengthening from *būschti*.

קָמָה because long *û* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qāl* the form of מָוּ (from מָוָה) *he is dead*; the verbs *middle O* take the form of אָוִיר (from אָוִיר) *it shone*, בִּישׁ (from בִּישׁ) *he was ashamed*. Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf.* *Qāl* and *Perf. Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the monosyllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qāl* and *Niph.* the original *û* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *î*, attenuated from *ä* (§ 67, 6), e. g. רָקַם for יָקַם, הָקִים for הָקִים, הָקִים for הָקִים.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes *Sh'wâ* when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before *suff.* יָמִירָהוּ *he will kill him*, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יָמִירוּן *they will die*.

The *î* in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so הָקִים had become הָקִים, hence הָקִים.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf. Qāl* יָקַם (also Arab. *jāqumu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יָקַם with retraction of tone יָקַם (*jāqōm*), יָקַם (in *pause* יָקַם); *Imper.* קַם (in the 2d fem. pl. קָמְנָה, v. No. 2 above, *û* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קַם. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *î* into *î* (הָקִים *Impf.* יָקַם, *Jussive* יָקַם with retraction of tone יָקַם, יָקַם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part. Qāl* קַם may be traced to the groundform with *ä* uninflected (Arab. *qātil*, § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the *î* there was *qāim*¹ and this became קַם,—the *î* being absorbed by the predominating *ä*. The immutability of the *ä* (pl. קָמִים, *constr.* קָמִי etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf. Qāl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *û* (now *û*), forms with original *ä*. This *ä* became *ä* after the elision of *î* and was again inflected into *ō*; so especially

¹ Arab. *qāim* (really *qā'im* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of *h*, comp. Aram. קָאִם) rarely contracted, as *sās* for *sāis*, *hār* for *hāir*. Others think that קָם is for קָם, like the verbal adjective קָמֵל, comp. § 84, 1.

יבוא (יבא) etc. from the *Perf.* בא (he has come). In the *Impf.* רבוש from בוש to be ashamed, the *ē* of the preformative has been lengthened from *i* (attenuation of original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāsch* became *yī-bāsch* and finally *yē-bōsch*. The *Niph.* נקום (נקום) *Impf.* יקום (יקום) have arisen in the same way (*yīq-q[aw]ām* = *yiqqām*) by the obscuration of *ā* which was lengthened from *ā*.

5. In the *Perf. Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an *i* is regularly inserted before the affirmatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and י is inserted in *Impf. Qāl* before the affirmative נה (comp. § 67, 4). As in verbs ע"ע, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf. Hiph.* before *i* the reduction of *i* into *ē* (as a normal lengthening of the original *i*) especially after the *Wāw. consec.* as well as before the affirmatives חם and חן or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the *i*; thus הקים, הקימו, (or 'הק') but הקמה etc. (however comp. וקמנו Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf. Niph.*, the *ō* before the separating vowel is always modified into *ū* (וקמתי). In the *Impf. Qāl* the separating י is always accented (יקמיני).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tone-long *ō* and *ē* instead of *ū* and *i* are found in *Impf. Qāl*, חשבך Ez. 16, 55 (also חשבתי in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as חשבך Ez. 20, 25, but also חשבתי in Job 31, 21, חשבך Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is חשבתי Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of חשב (for חשבתי) or an incorrect vowel writing (for חשבתי or חשבתי).

6. The *tone*, as in verbs ע"ע, is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives י, ה, י, e. g. קמה (however after *Wāw. consec.* also קמה), קמו (however also קמו, קמו), קמי, קמי; on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nūn paragogic* וקמנו 2 Chr. 28, 15; וקמנו Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the *i* and י, see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. קמה; so always in *Hoph.*, e. g. הוקמה.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs ע"ו (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the ו as a doubled consonant is עירד to surround from עיר. In a few others ו has taken the place of ר, as in קים Inf. קים Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קים; קים Dan. 1, 10 from חרב to be guilty, which forms belong to the later Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramæan. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *P'ēl* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *P'ēl*, and as its substitute; e. g. קים from קים or (after the elision of ו) from *qāmēm* with obscuring of *ā* to *ō* (comp. § 67, 8) to set up (from קים), קים to raise, pass. קים (from קים), reflex. קים to rouse one's self (from קים). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpēl* (see § 55, 4), e. g. קים to sustain, to nourish; pass. קים (from קים).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; viz. *Perf.* מר (for מר) he is dead, fem. מר. 2. masc. מר, 1 sing. מר, even in *Pause* Gen. 19, 19, 1 pl. מר, 3 pl. מר; מר (for מר) he is ashamed, מר, מר; מר, מר; מר, מר; מר, מר. *Part.* מר dead; מר ashamed ones Ez. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* ושר (with the original ending of the fem. for ושר) Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); ושר Is. 26, 16 (*Nūn. parag.* with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16).—In קני 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for קני from קני) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In קני Jer. 27, 18 (instead of קני) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* קני, which might be expected there; as *Yôdh* precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form קם is only very seldom written with א (after the Arab. mode, § 9, 1), as in קם he rises Hos. 10, 14, קם being secret Judg. 4, 21, קם despisers Ez. 26, 24, 26, fem. 16, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. *ō* takes at times also the form of קים for קם 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as קים covering Is. 26, 7, קים for קים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have *ū* take also *ū* in the *Imper.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus קים, *Imper.* and *Inf.* קים; however for קים he thrashes (*Impf.* קים) the *Imper.* has קים (fem.) Micah 4, 13; for קים he staggers the *Inf.* is קים; comp. קים (also קים) and קים Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere קים) with

the *Impf.* יָבִיחַ and יָבִיחַ. The *Inf. absol.* has always י in the final syllable (like קָטֹל), as קוֹם וְקִימוֹ *surgendo surgent* Jer. 44, 29.—Those verbs which have י in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, as יָבוֹא *he will come* = בּוֹא, בּוֹשֵׁם = בּוֹשֵׁם etc.

3. In the *Impf.* with affirmatives (קָיָמוּ, קָיָמוּ) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as עָיָרִי in Judg. 5, 12, an intended variation with עָיָרִי and עָיָרִי Is. 21, 2 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as שָׁיָרָה Jer. 3, 12, Ps. 7, 8, עָיָרָה Ps. 7, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an א begins the next word, Ps. 82, 8, Judg. 4, 18, and so too before יָרָחֻהּ, because this was read as אָרָרִי (§ 17), see Ps. 3, 8, 7, 7, even without א following 74, 22 (רָרָרִי).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יָקָם (see above No. 4) also יָקָם incorrectly written fully and even יָקָם which however differs only orthographically from יָקָם. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (וַיָּקָם, in *pause* וַיָּקָם) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Päthäch*, e. g. וַיָּסֶר and *he turned aside* Ruth 4, 1 (but also וַיָּנַח from וָנַח, וַיָּנַח and *he rested* Gen. 20, 11, וַיָּעֵב and *he wearied* Judg. 4, 21, 1 Sam. 14, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always וַיָּקִימוּ etc.).

The full plural-ending יָן has the tone (according to No. 6 on p. 177), e. g. תַּמְחִיָן Gen. 3, 3, 4, יִנְיָסִין Ps. 104, 7, יִרְצִיָן Joel 2, 4, 7, 9.

II. On Niph'al.

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 *pers. sing. Perf.* נִקְיָמוֹרִי, which occurs repeatedly, as in נִקְיָמוֹרִי, נִקְיָמוֹרִי, is taken as the model also for the 2 *pers. sing.* נִקְיָמוֹרְךָ, נִקְיָמוֹרְךָ and for the 1 *pers. plur.* נִקְיָמוֹרֵנוּ, although no examples of them occur; so too the 2 *pers. plur.*, of which we find only forms with *ō* (not *ū*), viz. נִפְצְצוּתֶם *ye have been scattered* Ez. 11, 17, 20, 34, 41, and נִקְטַצְתֶּם *ye loathe yourselves* Ez. 20, 43.—To the *ץ* (instead of *ā*) of the Preformative may be traced the *Perf.* נָעִיר Zech. 2, 17 (*Impf.* נָעִיר for נָעִיר). The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form וְהָדַשׁ Is. 25, 10; in לָאִיר Job. 33, 30 the Massora supposes the syncope of ה (for לָהָאִיר); but perhaps לָאִיר (*Qāl*) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III. On Hiph'il.

6. Examples of the *Perf.* without the inserted י are: הִלַּפְתָּ *thou liftest* Ex. 20, 25, הִלַּפְתָּ *thou killest* (from מָחַד, comp. § 20, 1, a), הִלַּפְתָּ 3d *fem. Perf. Hiph.* of סָחַר or סָחַר 1 K. 21, 25; הִלַּפְתָּ 1 *plur. Perf. Hiph.* of מָחַ 2 Chron. 29, 19, and even הִלַּפְתָּ (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. 17, 6; with *Wāw consec.* וַהֲלַפְתָּ Is. 14, 30; comp. וַהֲלַפְתָּ, Jer. 16, 13 and וַהֲלַפְתָּ Ex. 29, 24.—In these cases the *ē* in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes —; more fre-

quently however — , and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily — (e.g. וְיִקְרָאֵם Gen. 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).—As in verbs עָשָׂה (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also Pāthāch instead of — ; thus in all the forms of עָשָׂה Ex. 19, 23 and עָשָׂה Is. 41, 25, 45, 13.

7. In the *Imp.*, besides the shortened form יָבֵא , the lengthened יָבִיאוּ also occurs. With *suff.* וְיָבִיאוּ ; וְיָבִיאוּ Jer. 17, 18 is anomalous (for יָבֵא Gen. 43, 16); perhaps יָבִיאוּ was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally יָבִיאוּ . In the *Inf.* the ו is syncopeated in יָבִיאוּ Jer. 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for יָבִיאוּ). The participles have ē as vowel of the preformative like the עָשָׂה ; for יָבִיאוּ (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kethibh*) the Qere is everywhere יָבִיאוּ .

The shortened *Impf.* has the form יָבֵא , (יָבֵא , but always יָבֵא) comp. No. 4 above. The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes *Pāthāch*, as in Qāl , e. g. יָבֵא 1 Sam. 26, 19; יָבֵא Gen. 8, 21; יָבֵא and he took away Gen. 8, 13. Still the 1. *sing.* is usually like יָבֵא Neh. 2, 20, more rarely יָבֵא Josh. 14, 7.

IV. In General.

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs עָשָׂה and עָשָׂה (§ 67), it is necessary, in analysing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e. g. *Impf.* Qāl with *Wāw consecutive*; Pīlēl of עָשָׂה and Pōēl of עָשָׂה . Hence it is that verbs עָשָׂה borrow forms from verbs עָשָׂה , as in *Perf.* Qāl $\text{בִּזָּה$ he despised (from בִּזָּה , as if from בִּזָּה) Zech. 4, 10, עָשָׂה (for עָשָׂה) he besmeared Is. 44, 18. *Perf. Niph.* $\text{נָקַר$ Jer. 48, 11 (for נָקַר from נָקַר , as if from נָקַר).

9. In common with verbs עָשָׂה (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Dāghēsh fortē*. This form and the common one are often both in use; e. g. וְיָבִיאוּ to incite, *Impf.* יָבִיאוּ (also יָבִיאוּ , יָבִיאוּ and he shows the way 2 Sam. 22, 33 (also יָבִיאוּ Prov. 12, 26), יָבִיג to remove, *Impf.* יָבִיג (from יָבִיג), also *Hoph.* יָבִיג Is. 59, 14; sometimes with a difference of meaning, as יָבִיג to cause to rest, יָבִיג to set down, *Impf.* יָבִיג , *Imp.* יָבִיג , plur. יָבִיגוּ to spend the night, to abide, יָבִיגוּ , יָבִיגוּ to be headstrong or rebellious. Other examples: *Niph.* נָבִיג (from נָבִיג , not נָבִיג) to be circumcised Gen. 17, 26, 27, Part. 34, 22, with a guttural נָבִיג Zech. 2, 17; *Hiph.* יָבִיגוּ to despise Lam. 1, 8, יָבִיגוּ they depart. Prov. 4, 21.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Gut-tural* with *Dāghēsh fortē implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, viz. וְיָבִיגוּ for וְיָבִיגוּ and she hastens (from וְיָבִיגוּ) Job. 31, 5, וְיָבִיגוּ (others read וְיָבִיגוּ) 1 Sam. 15, 19, 25, 14 from וְיָבִיגוּ , וְיָבִיגוּ

to *rush upon*. Both forms would be correct *imperf. apoc.* of קָשָׁה and קָשָׁה (ל"ה); both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs, in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant, are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. קָוִי to be white, *Imperf.* קָוִי; נָפַח to expire, *Imperf.* נָפַח; רָחַב to be wide; *Pi.* רָחַב, *Imperf.* רָחַב; רָעַל to act wickedly; רָעַל; חָנַח to bend, *Hithp.* חָנַח; חָנַח to bend one's self, especially in those which are also at the same time verbs לָחַח, as חָנַח *Pi.* חָנַח to command, קָנָה to wait, רָנָה to drink, *Pi.* and *Hiph.* רָנָה, רָנָה to cause to drink.

§ 73.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. עֵינַי to discern. *Paradigm N.*

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs ע"י, and the י is here treated in the same manner as the י of that class; e. g. *Perf.* Qāl שָׁח (for שָׁח) he has set, *Inf.* שָׁח, *Inf. absol.* שָׁח (for שָׁח), *Imp.* שָׁח, *Imperf.* שָׁח, *Jussive* שָׁח, with *Wāw consec.* וְשָׁח.—But the *Perf. Qāl* has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hiph'il* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינוּ (similar to הִבְנוּ) Dan. 9, 2, also בָּנָה Ps. 139, 2; רִיבָה Job. 33, 13, also רָבָה Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, בָּנָה and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really *i*) whose *i* has been lengthened into *i* (as *ü* into *ū* instead of *ō* in the *Imperf. Qāl* of קָם). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened *Hiphil* form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הִבְנוּ, *Inf.* הִבְנוּ (also בִּין), *Imp.* הִבְנוּ (also בָּנָה), *Part.* מִבְנוּ. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qāl*-forms with the same signification, so too מָרַי (also רָב), מָשִׁים putting (also שָׁם), מְצִיץ glittering (also in *Perf.* מָצַץ). Moreover, as *passive*, we find a few times *Hoph. Imperf.* יִשָּׁר from שָׁר to sing, יִשָּׁח from שָׁח to set.

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs ע"י, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* קָבַח, *Pi lēl* בּוֹנֵן, and *Hithpā lēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן (as

if from בָּרַךְ). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs עָ"י. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qāl*, as עָ"י and עָ"י, and with the same meaning in both forms, as לִין (*denom.* from לָיַל *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under v. לָן, I.) *to spend the night*, *Inf.* לִין oftener than לִין; לָיַם *to put*, *Inf.* שָׁיַם (rarely שָׁיַם Job 20, 4), *Impf.* יָשַׁם, once יָשַׁם (Ex. 4, 11), *Part. pass.* שָׁיַם and שָׁיַם. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as נָיַל *to exult* (נָיַל only in Prov. 23, 24 *K'thibh*). The following are mostly found as verbs עָ"י—רָיַב *to contend*, שָׁיַר *to set*, דָּיַן *to judge*, שָׁיַשׁ *to rejoice*; so too *Perf.* כָּל (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid. Yôdh*) *to comprehend*, *to measure* Is. 40, 12, עָיַט (as in Arab. and Syr.) *to rush upon*; and the *Perf.* קָץ (*denom.* from קָרַץ) *to pass the summer* Is. 18, 6, and דָּיַג (from דָּג) *to fish* Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs עָ"י. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like יָשַׁם may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of שָׁיַם and as participles, like שָׁיַם and other forms, agree already with the form of the עָ"י. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (*comp.* בִּין above No. 1) of the *Hiph'ul* (*Conj. IV.*) of verbs עָ"י. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs עָ"י *comp. Rem. 3.* The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs עָ"י, עָ"י, and עָ"י, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yôdh* as a consonant, like אָרַב *to hate*, and צָרַח *to tire*, נָדַח *to be*, חָיַח *to live*.

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs עָ"י (*Parad. M.*), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which *Parad. N* omits have the same form as in *Parad. M.*

Rem. 1. In the *Perf. Qāl*, 3d fem. sing. there is found once יָלָחַז *Zech. 5, 4* instead of יָלָחַז, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* into *ē* (like fem. participles וָלָחַז Is. 59, 5); 1st pers. plur. יָלָחַז *Judges 19, 13* for *lan-nū*. The lengthened imperative has before א the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs עָ"י § 72, *Rem. 3*); רִיבָה יְדוּחַ Ps. 35, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are רִיב *litigando* Judg. 11, 25, שָׁח *ponendo* Is. 22, 7, but also רִיב יְדוּחַ Jer. 50, 34, בִּין חָבִין Prov. 23, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* is יָבִין; with shifted tone it takes the form with *S'ghôl*, as לֹי יָבִין Judg. 6, 31. So with *Wāw consec.* וַיָּשַׁם *and he placed*, וַיִּבֶן *and he perceived*; with guttural פָּהּ וַיִּפֶּחַ *and he flew at them* 1 Sam. 25, 14 (*vide* § 72, *Rem. 9*). As *Jussive* of לִין stands חָלֵן *Judges 19, 20* (in *pause*) and Job. 17, 2 for חָלֵן.

3. As *Part. act. Qāl* we find once לָיְלָה *spending the night* Neh. 12, 21; *Part. pass.* אָיִם or אָיִם (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 12, 32.

* * *

4. Verbs א"ב scarcely ever suffer their א to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural*, as in § 64. An exception where the א has lost its force as a consonant is: אָיִם *they are fair* (from אָיִם *Pi'āl* to אָיִם really אָיִם) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is אָיִם *it blooms* (Ec. 12, 5) *Impf. Hiph.* of אָיִם, for אָיִם; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to אָיִם (with incorrect writing for אָיִם) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS א"ב.

E. g. אָיִם *to find. Paradigm O.*

The א is here, as in verbs א"ב, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e. g. אָיִם, אָיִם, אָיִם, אָיִם. In all these cases the א is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the א after the quite heterogeneous ū. Therefore in the *Perf.*, *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl*, in the *Perf. Niph.*, and *Pū'āl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pā'thäch* is lengthened before the feeble א into *Qā'mēs* (§ 23, 1), as אָיִם, אָיִם, etc., which (—) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural אָיִם.

The *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl* have א after the analogy of verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*.

2. Also before affirmatives beginning with a consonant (א, ב) the א is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf. Qāl*, in *Qā'mēs*, as אָיִם (for אָיִם); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Sērē*, as אָיִם; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *S'ghōl*, as אָיִם, אָיִם.

The *S^ghōl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel*, *Hiphil*, *Hithpael* may be traced to an original *ī* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *ī* may have been attenuated from an original *ā*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ā* to *ī* with the verbs *נִצַּח* (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *Šērē* and *S^ghōl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs *נָאֵל* and *נִאֵל* (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pual*; in *Perf. Hoph.* only 2d masc. *הִנָּאֵלְךָ* Ez. 40, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes *קָה*, *כָּה*, *כֶּה*, the *א* retains its character as a guttural, and takes (—); as *מִנְאָהָ* Cant. 8, 1, *הִנְאָהָ* Ez. 28, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Sh'wā mobile*.

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before affirmatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the *א* is a consonant, and the form regular, as *מִנְאָהָ* *mā-š'ū'*, *מִנְאָהָ* etc. (in pause *מִנְאָהָ*, *מִנְאָהָ*).

REMARKS.

1. Verbs *middle E*, like *מָלֵא* *to be full*, retain *Šērē* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as in *מִלְאֵהָ*; yet 2 pl. *מִלְאֶהָ* in Josh. 4, 24; *מִלְאָהָ* Esth. 7, 5. Instead of *מִנְאָהָ* is sometimes found the form *מִנְאָהָ* for *מִנְאָהָ* (after the form *מִנְאָהָ*, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. 7, 14, *it happens to* Jer. 44, 23, Deut. 31, 29, in *Niph.* *מִנְאָהָ* Ps. 118, 23, in *Hoph.* *מִנְאָהָ* Gen. 33, 11.

2. In the *Inf. Qāl* occurs the *fem.* form *מִלְאָהָ* *to fill* Lev. 12, 4 (comp. *מִלְאָהָ* from *מִלְאָהָ*); also *מִלְאָהָ* Job 20, 22 and Esth. 1, 5 written *מִלְאָהָ*. Compare similar forms Judges 8, 1, Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes Ez. 33, 12 and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. 13, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) *מִנְאָהָ*, seldom *מִנְאָהָ* Cant. 8, 10, and without the *א* (see Rem. 4) *מִנְאָהָ* (from *מִנְאָהָ*) Deut. 28, 57. So too in *Niph.* *מִנְאָהָ* Zech. 5, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblatus*=*oblatio*, *donum*) and 1 Ch. 14, 2; *מִנְאָהָ* Deut. 30, 11.—The Plur. of *Part. Niph.* makes *מִנְאָהָם* dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. 13, 15, 2 K. 14, 14), which however remains in pause (Ez. 8, 25); so from *מִנְאָהָ* the plur. *מִנְאָהָם* (but in p. *מִנְאָהָם* Ez. 13, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as *מִנְאָהָם* Is. 22, 3, and before *fem.* ending *מִנְאָהָ* 2 K. 19, 4, plur. *מִנְאָהָם* Gen. 19, 15. In the forms *מִנְאָהָם* *sinning* 1 Sam. 14, 33, and *מִנְאָהָם* *feigning them* Neh.

6, 8, the vowel is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the *א* orthographically retained.

4. The *א* is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in *מָצָא* Num. 11, 11, *מָצָא* Job 32, 18, comp. 1, 21, *מָצָא* Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* *הִשָּׁמַע* Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with ל"י Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* *נִשְׁמָעוּ* ye are defiled Lev. 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: *וַיִּבֹא* 1 K. 12, 12 *K'ithibh*; *Hiph.* *וַיִּבֹא* 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* *וַיִּבֹא* to cause to sin Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs ל"י into forms ל"י v. § 75. Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS ל"י.

E. g. *גָּלָה* to reveal. Paradigm P.

These verbs, like the verbs ל"י (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. ל"י and ל"י, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and ו have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs ל"י; e. g. *גָּלָה* for *גָּלִי* he has revealed, *שָׁכַח* for *שָׁכִי* he has rested. By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally ל"י; and only a few forms occur of verbs ל"י. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs ל"י and ל"י.

A true verb ל"י is *שָׁכַח* to be at rest, whence (with a ו conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* *Qāl* *שָׁכַחְתִּי* Job. 3, 26, *Part.* *שָׁכֵי*, and the derivative *שָׁכֵי* rest; yet in the *Impf.* it has *יִשְׁכָּח* (with *Yôdh*). In *עָנָה* I (Arab. *عنى*) to answer, and *עָנָה* II (Arab. *عنى*) to suffer, to be oppressed, are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל"י being confounded with verbs ל"י, i. e. with the two classes ל"י and ל"י of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a consonantal ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*, § 14, 1), e. g. *גָּבַהּ* to be high. They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural*.

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which Paradigm P exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and ך is placed in its stead, as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in קָטְלָה etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb לָה, the ך which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

ך— in all the Perfects, בָּלָה, נָגְלָה, גָּלָה, etc.

ך— in all the Imperfects and Participles active, יִגְלֶה, יִנְגֶּלֶה, etc.

ך— in all the Imperatives, גַּלְה, נַגְלְה, etc.

ך— in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rem. 10 and 15 below), גַּלְה, etc.

The *Part. pass.* *Qāl* forms an exception, in which the original ך appears, at the end, גָּלְה, as also in some derivatives (§ 85, V).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the feminine form in ך; thus in *Qāl* גָּלוּהָ (from גָּלְהָ), in *Piel* גָּלוּהָ, etc.

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf. Qāl* גָּלָה stands for גָּלִי (according to § 24, 2, c), so too in *Niph.*, *Pü'āl* and *Höph'āl*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms קָטַל, קָטְלָה (§ 52, Rem. 1), *Hiph.* on the form קָטְלָה, after the manner of the Arabic *ʿaqtālā* (§ 53, 1).

The final accented ך of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ā*. For the language generally only has *ē* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *î* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure ך is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יִגְלֶה (Arab. *yaglā*) (vulgar *yaglā*), Eth. *yēglā*; יִרְבֶּה (from יָרָה to weep), Arab. *yabkī*, Eth. *yēbkī*; יִחְיֶה (r. יָחַה to live), Arab. *yachyā*, Eth. *yechyaw*; יִרְצֶה (r. יָרָה to feed), Arab. *yarʿā*, Eth. *yerʿay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi.* יִגְלֶה, cf. Arab. *yusāllī*, Eth. *yēḡallī* (he

prays); Hiph. לִרְאוֹת (ר. לִרְאוֹת to see), Arab. *yur'î*, Eth. *yâr'î*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from this we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the ל"ב different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally אָ. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle*. The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an *ä* as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qäl*, v. Rem. 4) the *ä* shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented אָ would be an inflection and lengthening of *ä* in an open syllable (as אָלֵךְ for אֵלֵךְ) instead of the full lengthening into *ä*. In the same way may be also explained the אָ of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (לֵלֵךְ) is based upon a contraction of the original *ay*; comp. also the noun אֶרֶץ and אֲרֶץ (from אֶרֶץ) *field*; construct אֶרֶץ. The same as in these *constr. forms*, also in the *Imper.* (ending אָ, contraction of *ay*) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original ל"ב having also followed the analogy of ל"ב.

2. Before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ר, נ), the original י remains, and there arises *a*) in the *Perf.* the diphthong *ay* (אֵי); this diphthong should be contracted into *ê* (אֵי), but this *ê* is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qäl* and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into *i* (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before נָ it is changed into the obtuse and accented *ê* (אֵי). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this אֵי must be considered the equivalent of אֵי (i. e. *ê* as contraction from *ay*) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) *ä* was inflected into *S'ghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel—

Perfect *Qäl i*, as אֵלֵךְ;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly *ê*, partly *i*, as in אֵלֵךְ and אֵלֵךְ, אֵלֵךְ and אֵלֵךְ;

Perfects of the passives only עָלִיתָ , as נִלְחַםְתָּ ;

Imperfects and Imperatives always יָלִיד , as יִלְדֵּךְ , יִלְדֵּךְ .

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qāl* 2 p. sing. יָלִיד (but 1 p. sing. יָלִיד), and so too the West. Aram. has יָלִיד along with יָלִיד .

3. Before the vowel affirmatives (וְ , וֹ , וֵ), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. נָלִיד (for יָלִיד), יִלְדֵּךְ (for יָלִיד), *Part. fem.* נִלְחַמְתִּי , *plur. mas.* נִלְחַמְתֶּם ; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause*, as יִלְדֵּךְ (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in נִלְחַמְתָּ (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.*, the old *fem.* ending וֹ returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form נִלְחַמְתָּ (before suffixes) and tone-lengthened נִלְחַמְתָּ . But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending וֹ is appended, before which the *Päthäch* of the ending וֹ becomes *Shewâ* so as to form נִלְחַמְתָּו (*pause* נִלְחַמְתָּו).

See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. ו consec. § 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the וֹ , by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocope* of the וֹ (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by וֹ (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs ל"ו :—in *Qāl*, אֶשְׁעָרָה Ps. 119, 117, אֶשְׁמְרָה (retaining וֹ , see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Is. 41, 23 (toneless וֹ after long vowel).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form נִלְחַמְתָּ , from נִלְחַמְתָּ (comp. the verb ל"ו , § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is נָשָׂא it *yields* Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *K'th.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. רָצָה *it enjoys* Lev. 28, 34, רָצָה *it is taken captive* Jer. 13, 19. But with *suffixes* this form is always used; see Bem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (לָהּ etc.) Ps. 37, 20, לָהּ in *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding קָלָהּ. Regarding the accent of the *consec. perf. v.* § 49, 3 Bem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form רָאוּ *videndo* Gen. 28, 28. The form רָאוּ Is. 22, 13 (also רָאוּ in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with רָאוּ; the same in 42, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. 10, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גָּלוּ (once גָּלוּ or גָּלוּ) comp. רָאוּ Gen. 48, 11, עָשׂוּ 50, 20, or עָשׂוּ 31, 28, and the feminine form רָאוּ to see Ez. 28, 17, like קָשְׁלוּ (§ 45, 1, b).

3. The *shortening of the Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qāl* the following changes:—

- a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *S'ghôl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Päthäch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. בָּנָה for בָּנָה; וָיָבֵן and he built; וָיִשֶׁע let him look (for וָיִשֶׁע).
- b) The *Ch'réq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *Šérê* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as רָאוּ let him see (from רָאוּ). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative ר, whilst after the י the *š* being homogeneous remains, e. g. וָיִבֵּן (also וָיִבֵּן, וָיִבֵּן); and by verbs middle guttural וָיִבֵּן (from וָיִבֵּן). The strange accentuation וָיִבֵּן Zech. 9, 5, וָיִבֵּן Micah. 7, 10 and רָאוּ (mid. *ē*) Gen. 41, 33 can be explained only to some degree from rhythmical reasons.
- c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. וָיִשֶׁב and he took captive Num. 21, 1; and with *š* lengthened to *ē*, וָיִשָּׁה and he drank, וָיִבֵּן and he wept. The verb רָאוּ has the forms רָאוּ let him see, and וָיִבֵּן and he saw, the latter with *Päthäch* on account of the following ר.
- d) Examples of verbs which are *Pē Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lā'mèdh Hē*:—וָיָעַשׂ and he made (from עָשׂוּ), וָיָעַן and he answered (from עָנָה), וָיָעַל and we ascended (from עָלָה). On a few forms of מ"נ v. § 76, 2, c. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in וָיָרַח and he was wroth, וָיָרַח and he encamped, וָיָרַח (with *Dag. lenè*, according to § 28, 4) let it rejoice Job. 3, 6. On וָיָרַח, וָיָרַח, וָיָרַח (both ל"ה and מ"נ) v. § 76, 2, b.
- e) The verbs וָיָרַח to be and וָיָרַח to live, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be וָיָרַח, וָיָרַח, change these forms to וָיָרַח and וָיָרַח, because the second *Yôdh* draws to itself the vowel *i*, and makes with it a long *i*; in *pause*: וָיָרַח, וָיָרַח, the original *ā* having been modified into *S'ghôl*. (Comp. the derivatives וָיָרַח בָּנִי having been modified into *S'ghôl*. (Comp. the derivatives וָיָרַח בָּנִי, etc., § 85, No. V).—From וָיָרַח to be occurs once the form וָיָרַח for וָיָרַח he will be Ec. 11, 3, (on the מ v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocope* of ה־, occur sometimes even after *Wāw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. וַיֵּרָאָהּ and *I saw* (20 times) and Josh. 7, 21 in *K'thib* but never in the Pentateuch (וַיֵּרָא, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וַיַּעַשׂ and *he made* 4 times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in וַיַּעַשׂ Gen. 41, 34, Jer. 28, 6.

4. The original י is sometimes retained before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ין—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* הִתְיַחַשׁ *she trusts* Ps. 57, 2, הִתְיַחַשׁ *they trust* Deut. 32, 37 (comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Qeri*). *Imp.* בְּיָרִי אֶשְׁאֵל *ask ye* Is. 21, 12, *Impf.* יִשְׁלָיוּ *they are quiet* Ps. 122, 6, יִרְבִּיחוּ *they increase* Deut. 8, 13, Ps. 36, 9, more frequently like יִשְׁתְּיִין *they drink* Ps. 78, 44, Is. 21, 12; 26, 11, Ps. 36, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a *fem.* retaining the 3d radical י, as in בֹּכֵיָהּ (= בֹּכֶה) *weeping* Lam. 1, 16, צֹפֵיָהּ *spying* Prov. 31, 27, מְרִיָּהּ *fruitful* Ps. 128, 3; in the *plur.* like מְרִיָּהּ *coming* Is. 41, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the י as 3d radical, as עָשָׂה *made* Job. 41, 25, צָפֵי Job 15, 22, contracted from עָשָׂה, צָפֵי, and the י has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as in עֲשׂוּיָהּ (read it as 'asûwôth) 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *K'thibh*, נְשׂוּיָהּ (read n'fûwôth Is. 3, 16 *K'thibh*).

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in וְרָחַץ 2 Sam. 15, 33, תִּצְטַחַר Job. 5, 12, and (according to the Massora) תִּרְאֶינָה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תִּצְנַנְהוּ Judges 5, 29 (according to others in *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3d *fem. sing.*). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, c.

II. On Nîph'âl.

7. Here the forms with י־ in 1 and 2 p. *sing.* of the *Perf.* are the usual, the י־ being found only in בָּקִיָּה Gen. 24, 8; but in 1 p. *pl.* the י־ is always used, as in נִבְקִינִי 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2 p. *pl.* occur in *Nîph.* of these verbs.—The י is retained in *pause*, as in בָּקִיָּה Num. 24, 6.

8. The *apocope* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of ה־, רָגַל from רָגַלְתָּ; yet in one verb *Ā'yîn Guttural*, we find a form with (י־) shortened to (י־), viz. יָמַח (for יָמַח) Ps. 109, 14 (but in *pause* יָמַח Ps. 109, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is הָעֵר (from הָעֵרָה) Ps. 141, 8, and in *Hithp.* הִתְעַרַּע (from הִתְעַרְעָה) Prov. 22, 24.

III. On Pî'êl, Pû'âl, and Hîthpā'êl.

9. In the *Perf. Pi.*, the second syllable has ê (*Chîreq*) instead of the diphthongal י־ in the greater number of examples, as in יִמְרֶיךָ, always in 1 p. *pl.* and before *suffixes*, e. g. יִמְרֶיךָ Gen. 37, 26, יִמְרֶיךָ Ps. 44, 20. But in the Paradigm the form with י־ stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only לִי (Jer. 17, 16), but also לִי is sometimes found (Prov. 24, 10, 1 K. 2, 26, Jer. 50, 24). Yet *Pāḏl* has always *Ṣērē* (לִי), as in *Ṣērē* Ps. 139, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like *קָהָה*, *קָהָה* (according to *קָהָה*, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like *קָהָה* Ps. 40, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocopè*, the *Dāghēsh fortè* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20. 3, a); hence *Pi.* וְיָצִי and he commanded, *Hithp.* וְיִתְבַּחַל and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21. Less frequently is *Pāṭhāch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qā'mēṣ*, as וְיִתְבַּחַח and he marked 1 Sam. 21, 14, וְיִתְבַּחַח he craves, *Hithp.* וְיִתְבַּחַח Is. 41, 10. Ps. 45, 12; according to the best texts however this should read וְיִתְבַּחַח.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Imp.*, as צַו for צִוָּה command thou, נִסֵּה for נִסְּהו prove thou Dan. 1, 12; וְיִתְבַּחַח feign thyself sick 2 Sam. 13, 5, Deut. 2, 24. Anomalous is Judges 9, 29 וְיִתְבַּחַח for וְיִתְבַּחַח increase; on וְיִתְבַּחַח Prov. 26, 7 (according to some *Imper. Pi.* for וְיִתְבַּחַח) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.* In Ps. 137, 7 is found twice נָדָה instead of נָדָה (for נָדָה), but comp. 2 Chr. 24, 11.

13. The *Yōdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e. g. *Impf.* וְיִתְבַּחַח will ye liken Is. 40, 18, comp. vs. 25; וְיִתְבַּחַח they cover them Ex. 15, 5.

IV. On *Hiph'āl* and *Hōph'āl*.

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing וְיִתְבַּחַח, as also found besides וְיִתְבַּחַח, especially וְיִתְבַּחַח, וְיִתְבַּחַח. The forms with *ē* are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with *i*; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with *i*. In *Hoph.* only *i* occurs.

15. The *Ṣērē* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in וְיִתְבַּחַח); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in וְיִתְבַּחַח Lev. 19, 20. The verb וְיִתְבַּחַח to be much has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. וְיִתְבַּחַח used as adverb. (§ 131, 2) much, וְיִתְבַּחַח as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), וְיִתְבַּחַח as *Inf. constr.* Comp. Gen. 41, 49, 22, 17, Deut. 28, 63. On וְיִתְבַּחַח Job. 17, 2 (with *Dag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, b.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helping-vowel, as וְיִתְבַּחַח let him subdue Is. 41, 2, וְיִתְבַּחַח let him spread Gen. 9, 27, וְיִתְבַּחַח and he watered (see § 28, 4); or with it, as וְיִתְבַּחַח (for וְיִתְבַּחַח, see § 27, Rem. 2, c), as וְיִתְבַּחַח and he led captive 2 K. 18, 11, וְיִתְבַּחַח and he made fruitful Ps. 105, 24. Examples with gutturals: וְיִתְבַּחַח Num. 23, 2, וְיִתְבַּחַח etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qāl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).—The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Sēghôl* or *Pāṭhāch*, as וְיִתְבַּחַח increase thou (for וְיִתְבַּחַח, וְיִתְבַּחַח) Ps. 51, 4, וְיִתְבַּחַח; וְיִתְבַּחַח let alone (for

נָתַן (נִתְּנָה) Deut. 9, 14, נָתַן (נִתְּנָה) Ex. 33, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in הָרִיץ Job 19, 2, from נָתַן. Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. In General.

17. In the Aramaean, where as before remarked, the verbs לִיָּא and לִיָּה run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in לִיָּא or לִיָּה. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in לִיָּא, more seldom in לִיָּה or לִיָּה, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* הָרִיץ Hos. 6, 9. *Imp. Qāl* הָרִיץ be thou Jer. 37, 6, *Impf. let him see* Gen. 41, 33; הָרִיץ he will do Is. 64, 3; אֶל-הָרִיץ Jer. 17, 17, אֶל הָרִיץ consent thou not Prov. 1, 10, אֶל-הָרִיץ do thou not 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 26, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qeri*); הָרִיץ Josh. 9, 24; הָרִיץ Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 13, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere הָרִיץ and also הָרִיץ with small distinctives); הָרִיץ Nah. 1, 3; אָרִיץ Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zageph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in pause and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Imperf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following א or ע. We are not sure whether in the choice of the — we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that הָרִיץ be directly contracted from הָרִיץ).

The ending לִיָּה is found for לִיָּה in the *Impf. Qāl* הָרִיץ and she committed fornication Jer. 3, 6 (before *Mdqqēph*) instead of לִיָּה in the *Perf. Hiph.* הָרִיץ he made sick Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for הָרִיץ from הָרִיץ as secondary form to הָרִיץ v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the plur. הָרִיץ they intimidated (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation *Pīlel*, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form וּל (see § 24, 2, c), viz. in נָאֵר (contracted נָאֵר) to be beautiful, from נָאֵר archers Gen. 21, 16; but especially in שָׁרַח to bow, *Pīlel* שָׁרַח, hence *Hithpālēl* שָׁרַח to bow one's self, to prostrate one's self, 2d pers. in שָׁרַח and 1st pers. שָׁרַח, *Impf.* שָׁרַח, *apoc.* שָׁרַח for שָׁרַח (analogous to segholate forms like שָׁרַח for שָׁרַח).

19. Before *suffixes*, the וּ final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), as עָנִי (in pause עָנִי) he answered me, עָנִי, in pause עָנִי Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of pause Jer. 23, 37) or like עָנִי Deut. 32, 6, עָנִי, *Impf.* עָנִי, *Hiph.* עָנִי. Very seldom — takes the place of the

final וְכָסִימָם or וְכָסִימָם , as in וְכָסִימָם Deut. 32, 26, וְכָסִימָם *he will cover them* Ps. 140, 10 וְכָסִימָם *smite me* 1 K. 20, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay*; but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before *suff.* the older form וְכָסִימָם (see No. 4), e. g. וְכָסִימָם for וְכָסִימָם , Zech. 5, 4, in *pause* וְכָסִימָם Job 33, 4.

VI. Affinity of Verbs ל"ו and ל"א.

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramæan), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

- a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ו, e. g. *Perf.* וְכָסִימָם *I restrain* Ps. 119, 101; *Part.* וְכָסִימָם *sinning* Ec. 3, 12, 9, 18; *Pi. Perf.* וְכָסִימָם *he has filled* Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 K. 9, 11, Am. 4, 2, Ps. 143, 3; וְכָסִימָם *I heal* 2 K. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *Niph. Perf.* וְכָסִימָם (like וְכָסִימָם) *it was wonderful* 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* וְכָסִימָם *she hid* Josh. 6, 17. On the other hand forms like וְכָסִימָם Jer. 10, 5, וְכָסִימָם (correct reading) Job 19, 2, are based upon syncope of א , v. § 74, Rem. 3.
- b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the ו , e. g. *Imp.* וְכָסִימָם *heal thou* Ps. 60, 4; *Niph.* וְכָסִימָם Jer. 49, 10 and וְכָסִימָם *to hide one's self* 1 K. 22, 25; comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi. Impf.* וְכָסִימָם *he will fill* Job 8, 21.
- c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs ל"ו, e. g. *Perf.* וְכָסִימָם *thou thirstest* Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 8, 8; וְכָסִימָם *they kept back*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; וְכָסִימָם *they are full* Ez. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *Inf.* וְכָסִימָם (v. Rem. 2) *to sin* Gen. 20, 6; *Impf.* וְכָסִימָם (for וְכָסִימָם) *he will keep back*, Gen. 28, 6; וְכָסִימָם *they heal* Job 5, 18; *Part. fem.* וְכָסִימָם Ec. 10, 5; *Part. pass.* וְכָסִימָם Ps. 32, 1; *Niph.* וְכָסִימָם Jer. 51, 9; וְכָסִימָם Jer. 28, 9, *Impf.* וְכָסִימָם 2 K. 2, 22; *Pi. Impf.* וְכָסִימָם Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hithp.* וְכָסִימָם *thou prophesiest* 1 Sam. 10, 6, *Inf.* וְכָסִימָם 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *K^{thibh}* להשיח 2 K. 19, 25 the *Q^{ri}* gives the usual form וְכָסִימָם ; the *K^{thibh}* would read וְכָסִימָם (with syn. of א).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs ל"ו which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs ל"א; e. g. in their consonants וְכָסִימָם *he comes* Is. 21, 12; וְכָסִימָם Ez. 43, 27, וְכָסִימָם Lam. 4, 1, וְכָסִימָם Jer. 33, 4, וְכָסִימָם Eccl. 3, 1, וְכָסִימָם *it is changed* Lam. 4, 1, וְכָסִימָם 2 K. 25, 29, וְכָסִימָם *and he became sick* 2 Ch. 16, 12; in their vowels, וְכָסִימָם Jer. 3, 22, וְכָסִימָם Dan. 10, 14, וְכָסִימָם 1 K. 17, 14; in both, וְכָסִימָם 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Q^{ri}*.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from *נָדַד* to *fly* are formed *Impf.* *יָדַד* Nah. 3, 7, and *יָדַד* Gen. 31, 40 (after the analogy of verbs *פָּחַח*), *Hiph.* *יָדַד* (as a verb *פָּחַח*), but in *Impf. Hoph.* *יָדַד* (as *פָּחַח*).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

- a) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח* (comp. §§ 66 and 74); e. g. *נָסַח* to *bear*, *Imp.* *נָסַח*, *Inf. constr.* *נָסַח* (for *נָסַח*), also *נָסַח*; after the prefix *ל* always *נָסַח* (but once *נָסַח* Job 41, 17 with *Syn.* of *נ*); *Impf.* *נָסַח* for *נָסַח* Ruth 1, 14.
- b) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח* (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as *נָסַח* to *bend* *נָסַח* to *smile*. Hence *Impf. Qāl* *נָסַח*, *apoc.* *נָסַח* and *he bowed*, *נָסַח* and *נָסַח* and *he sprinkled* (from *נָסַח*); *Perf. Hiph.* *נָסַח* *he smote*, *Impf.* *נָסַח*, *apoc.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*, so also *נָסַח*; *Imp.* *נָסַח*, *apoc.* *נָסַח*; *Inf.* *נָסַח*; *Part.* *נָסַח*.
- c) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח* (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as *נָסַח* to *be willing*, *נָסַח* to *come*, *נָסַח* to *bake*. So *Impf. Qāl* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*, plur. *נָסַח*; *נָסַח* Is. 41, 25 (for *נָסַח*), *Impf. apoc.* *נָסַח* Is. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12 (comp. *נָסַח* Exod. 16, 23) for *נָסַח* (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph. Imp.* *נָסַח* for *נָסַח* (from *נָסַח*), Is. 21, 14; *Impf. apoc.* *נָסַח* and *he swore* 1 Sam. 14, 24 (from *נָסַח*), really *נָסַח*, hence *נָסַח* and, with the obscuring to *נָסַח*, the *נ* which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *S'ghōl*.
- d) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח* (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as *נָסַח* to *go forth*, *Imp.* *נָסַח*, *Inf.* *נָסַח*, *Hiph.* *נָסַח* to *bring out*.
- e) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח* (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. *נָסַח* to *throw*, in *Hiph.* to *confess*, to *praise*, and *נָסַח* to *cast* which are properly verbs *נָסַח*, also *נָסַח* to *be beautiful* (which is really *נָסַח*). *Inf.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*; *Imp.* *נָסַח* (cf. *Impf.* *נָסַח* Ez. 31, 7), with *suff.* *נָסַח* we *shot them* (from *נָסַח*) Num. 21, 30; *Pi.* *נָסַח* for *נָסַח* (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*, *Inf.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*, *apoc.* *נָסַח* 2 K. 18, 17.
- f) Verbs *נָסַח* and *לָסַח*, particularly *נָסַח* to *come*, *Perf.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח*, once *נָסַח* 1 Sam. 25, 8; *Hiph.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח* and *נָסַח*, *Impf.* *נָסַח*, *נָסַח* Mic. 1, 15. So *נָסַח* *he refuses* (*Impf. Hiph.*, from *נָסַח*) Ps. 141, 5.

- g) Moreover the verb *חָיָה* to live deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form *חָיָה* fem. *חָיָה*, is also treated as a verb *חָיָה*, and hence has *חָיָה* (pause *חָיָה*, w. 1 cons. *חָיָה*) in the § *Perf. Qāl* in Gen. 3, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 8, 22 is found even the contraction to *חָיָה*. The form *חָיָה* stands Ex. 1, 16 in pause for *חָיָה* (3. *sep.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ā* to *ā*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those *חָיָה* and *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה*, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biliteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*biliteral root*, § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feebler radical is not taken into account. Thus, *חָיָה*, *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* are all developements of the crude-form (or ultimate root) *חָיָה*, and mean to strike, to beat in pieces; *חָיָה*, *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* (from the root *חָיָה*) to flee.

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to become poor, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to feel or touch, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to flee.

2. Verbs *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to place, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* (*yāqō'sh*) to fowl; to the former class, especially to verbs *חָיָה*, in *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to fear, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to be good, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* [= E. puff] to blow; *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to smash. Verbs *חָיָה* are only seldom found connected with these classes, as *חָיָה*, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to be destroyed, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to thresh, etc.

3. Verbs *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to break in pieces, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to meet (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to suck, *חָיָה* and *חָיָה* to thrust, etc.

¹ These verbs are *mimetic* or *onomatopoetic*, mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our *dash* and *thwack* (see § 30, 3).—Tr.

§ 78.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre*; but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

בִּיֵּשׁ *to be ashamed, Hiph.* בִּיֵּשׁ, but also הוֹבִיֵּשׁ (from בִּיֵּשׁ).

טוֹב *to be good, Perf.*, טוֹב; *Impf.* יִטְבֵּה (from טוֹב); *Hiph.* הִטְבִּיֵּה (from טוֹב).

יָרָה *to fear, Impf.* יִירָה (from יָרָה).

עָרָץ *to awake only in Impf.* יִעָרֵץ; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* הִעָרֵץ is used (fr. עָרָץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces, Impf.* יִנָּפֵץ (from נָפַץ), *Imp.* נִפֹּץ; *Niph.* נִפְּץ; *Pl.* נִפְּצוּ (from נָפַץ); *Pi lēl* נִפְּצָה (from נָפַץ); *Reflex.* הִנָּפֵץ; *Hiph.* הִנָּפֵץ. Also *Pilpēl* נִפְּצָה Job 16, 12.

שָׁתָה *to drink, used in Qāl*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁתָּה *to give to drink*, from שָׁתָה, which is not used in Hebrew.

On הָלַךְ (יָלַךְ) *to go*, see above in § 69, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow *tenses* from each other;—

רָשָׁה (to add) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* from *Hiph.* הוֹרִישָׁה.

נִגַּשׁ (to approach) takes *Perf.* *Niph.* נִגַּשׁ for the *Perf.* *Qāl*, which is not in use; only the *Impf.* יִגַּשׁ, *Imp.* נִגַּשׁ, and *Inf.* נִגַּשׁ of *Qāl* are in use.

הָדָה (to lead) has *Perf.* usually in *Qāl*, also the *Imp.* הָדָה; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* הִדָּה.

הִפִּיֵּךְ (to pour out) has *Perf.* *Niph.* הִפִּיֵּךְ, along with *Impf.* *Qāl* הִפִּיֵּךְ, but the *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Perf.* *Qāl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixtæ*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE NOUN.

(*Substantive and Adjective.*)

§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qāl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem. 1.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*¹ of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative*, the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 119).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 107, 3).

2. The *masculine*, as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending ה—, as in the 3 sing. Perf. of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original ה— however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple ה, v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, b and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

- a) Most commonly an accented ה—, as סוס *horse*, סוּסָה *mare*; as in the 3d sing. fem. perf. (קָטְלָה etc.) this ה— has been produced by rejecting the closing ה and lengthening the *ā* in an open syllable; whereupon the ה has been added as an orthographical compensation for ה, as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like נָלָה for נָלִי § 75, 1).
- b) Simple ה to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. יְהוּדִי *Jew.*, יְהוּדִיָּה *Jewess*. The same termination ה is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

¹ This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Seghōl* but after gutturals *Pāthāch*, e. g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה *killing* (ground-form קָטַלְתָּ, therefore before suffixes קָטְלָתִי etc.); מוֹדַע, *fem.* מוֹדְעָה *acquaintance*. The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus*; except יוֹלְדָה for the elsewhere used יוֹלְדָה Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יוֹלְדָתִי Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form מְ— is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in מ— is also in use. It is only in Participles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קָטְלָה oftener than קָטַלְתָּ, מְדַע than מְדָה).

2. Rarer feminine endings are:—

- a) מ— accented, as מְדַע *emerald* Ez. 28, 13, (also מְדָה Ez. 28, 17); מְדָה Ps. 61, 1; חַיִּית 74, 19; שְׂפָצָה *crowd* 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phœnicians (in whose speech מ— was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as שָׂרֵפְתָּ *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָתָה *Gib'ath*, אֵילָנָה *Aelana* in Idumea, קִירְיָתָה *Kirjath*, גִּלְיָתָה *Goliath* (Philistine).
- b) מְ—, also in *names* of places, as מְעַלְתָּ, חֲלִילָה, else mostly poetical, e. g. זִמְרָה Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of זִמְרָתִי *my song* with suppressed termination before the following י), נְחִלָּה, נְחִלָּה Ps. 16, 6, either for נְחִלָּתִי *my heritage* or for נְחִלָּתָה, comp. let. *f.*, as probably also מְזִוְרָה *help* Ps. 60, 13, 109, 13, פְּרִיָּה *prolific* Gen. 49, 22; שֵׁנָה *sleep* (for שֵׁנָה) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose קָאָה *pelican* (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form קָאָה); in prose also we find מְחִירָה *morrow* Gen. 19, 34.
- c) מְ—, Aramæan orthography for מ—, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. מְפִיָּה *fright* Is. 19, 17, מְשָׁנָה *sleep* Ps. 127, 2, מְקִרְיָה *baldness* Ex. 27, 31, מְסָרָה *mark* Lam. 3, 12.
- d) מְ—, a weakened form of מ— (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in מְזִיָּה for מְזִיָּה Is. 59, 5 and מְלָה for מְלָה Zech. 5, 4.
- e) מְ—, without accent, as מְרִיָּה Deut. 14, 17, מְעִירָה *burning furnace* Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented מ—, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the מ— (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of *locative*

¹ On the feminines not distinguished by their form, see § 107, 1, 3, 4.

form (v. § 90, 2). Also לַיְלָה *night* (really *noctū* comp. new Greek ἡ νύκτα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לַיְלָה לַיְלָה also occurring. Also מְאִימָה *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מָאִים, מָאִים, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אֶרֶץ Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented ו־ may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אֶרֶץ (in P.) Job 37, 12; הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ the sun Judg. 14, 18 (else הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ), נָחַל brook Ps. 124, 4, מוֹת death Ps. 116, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

f) ו־ only in poetry, e. g. אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ *terror* (= אֶרֶץ), עֲזָרָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), שְׁלֵמוֹת *salvation* (= שְׁלֵמוֹת), עֲוֹנוֹת *wickedness* (= עֲוֹנוֹת), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like עֲזָרָה *help!* (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the vowel-ending ו־¹ as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonant-ending ו־ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ו constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in ו, but mostly in ו, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii Monumenta Phœnicia*, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's Phön. Sprache*, pp. 169–74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the *pause*; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive*, i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (see Davies' *Hebr. Lex.*); or *derivative*,

¹ In this ending the ו can be considered consonantal (א) only in the sense, that the original ו as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to *Socin*, among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an א as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals*, §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צַדִּיק *just*, צֶדֶק *righteousness*, from צָדַק *to be just*; רָם *high*, רֶמֶז *high place*, מָרוֹם *height*, from רָם *to be high*; or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives*, § 86), as מַרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words*, classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—a) *Formæ nude*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—b) *Formæ auctæ*, such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as, מְלָכָא, מְלִיכָא. These formative letters are:

¹. (הַאֲמִתִּיּוּת), ח, א, ט, נ, ת, י, י.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound nouns*, as *appellatives*, the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. *בְּזִיזָל* properly *worthlessness, baseness*. As *proper names*, they occur frequently, e. g. *בְּרִיזָל* (*man of God*), *יְהוֹזָכָר* (*whom raises up*), *יְהוֹזָכָר* (*whom strengthens*), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives*, as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as **שָׁעִיר** *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from **שָׁעַר**), **שְׂעִירָה** *barley* (prop. *bearded*, also from **שָׁעַר**), **חֲסִידָה** *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), **זָהָב** *gold* (from **זָהַב** = **צָהַב** *to be yellow*). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as **קָרָן** *horn*, **עֵינַי** *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians, *nomina heemantica*. Comp. § 5, Note ⁵, § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as קָטַל, קָטֵל, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. אָרָם *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 1 (§ 84), whether it comes from אָרָם (*to be ruddy*) or not: אָב *father*, אָמ *mother*, have the same form as if derived from אָבָה, אָמָם, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (אָבָה *to procreate*, אָמָם *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. יָדַעַת (*to know*) = *knowledge*, אָיַב (*hating*) = *enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form מִקְטֵל (as a noun also מִקְטֵל), farther קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה (§ 45, *b*) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract*; that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versa*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one *with whom he is acquainted*; the God-head for God himself; in Heb. יְדִיעוּת *acquaintance* and an *acquaintance*; פְּשׁוּטָה *simplicity* and a *simple one*; on the contrary, חַטָּאת *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the *fem.* of *concretes* (§ 84, 5, 6, 11).

For the sake of clearness, we treat first of the *derivatives* from the strong or regular verb (§ 84), and then of those from the different classes of the weak or irregular verb (§ 85).

The general view given in § 84 first classifies the Noun forms, after their significance, into *concretes* (as related to the participle), and *abstracts* (as connected with the infinitive); but next advances under each of these divisions from the simpler and easier forms to the harder and more enlarged. But the whole series of forms may be enumerated also simply with respect to the difference of form, without regard to the difference of meaning, since the forms do not always differ strictly according to the sense. In that case the forms would stand nearly in this order: 1) from simple stems: Nos. 1—5, 10—13; 2) from strengthened stems either by doubling the middle stem consonant (e. g. Nos. 6—9) or by repetition of one or several consonants of the stem (e. g. Nos. 20—23); 3) nouns with other additional letters whether *preformatives* (e. g. all forms derived from Niph. Hiph. and Hithpael, as well as the numerous forms with נ preformative) or *afformatives* (e. g. Nos. 15, 16). It is of the greatest importance to distinguish everywhere whether the vowels employed by the formation of nouns were originally long and therefore unchangeable, or originally short, but have been lengthened in or before the tone. In the latter case the tone lengthened vowel becomes short by the removal of the accent or *Shewa* (with the pretonic vowels, but also elsewhere). In what follows, the groundforms have everywhere been added where such changes are liable to occur.

§ 84.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM STRONG STEMS.¹

We distinguish here—

I. *Participial Nouns from Qāl.*

1. קָדַל, *fem.* קִדְּלָה, (Groundform *qāḏāl*, *qāḏāldā*), one of the most simple forms of this class and analogous to the two following (Nos. 2 and 3), but not in use as a Participle. It is most frequently employed as

¹ Under the strong verb we here include the verb with gutturals (§§ 63—65), and also those forms of weak stems whose weakness does not appear (comp. § 81).

an adjective expressing *quality*, as חָכָם *wise*, נֶזֶק *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*. It occurs, however, also with an abstract sense (No. 12).

2. קָטֵל, *fem.* קָטְלוּ, (Grdf. *qāṭil, qāṭlūt*), Part. of verbs *middle E* (§ 50, 2), mostly with intransitive meaning (§ 43) and therefore frequently as adjectives; e. g. יָבֵשׁ *old*, יָבֵשׁ *dry*, יָשָׁן *fat*.

3. a) קָטֵל and קָטְלוּ, *fem.* קָטְלוּ, (Grdf. *qāṭōl, qāṭōlūt*), with unchangeable *ō*, which, however, can be shown to have partly arisen from an obscured *ā*. Here belong numerous adjectives, as גָּדוֹל *great*, רָחוֹק *far*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*. As *abstr.* substantives, כְּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace*. From this is to be distinguished b) nouns of the form *qāṭōl* from original *qāṭūl* e. g. אָדָם *red*, עָגוֹל *round*, עָמֵק *deep*, etc. (not seldom written fully thus: אָדָם, עָגוֹל, etc.) The original *ū* of the 2d syllable appears again before affirmatives, because then the following consonant is artificially doubled (as the *ū* can stand only in a closed syllable); thus the plurals עָמֵקִים, עָגוּלִים, etc.

4. קוֹטֵל, קָטֵל, *fem.* קָטְלוּ (sometimes like יִלְדוּ with the *šēre* retained) or קָטְלוּ, the usual active participial of *transitive* verbs, e. g. אֶבֶן *enemy*, יוֹנֵק *suckling*; hence of the instrument by which the action is performed, as חֶרֶשׁ *a cutting instrument* (also with a personal signification, *plowman*). A feminine with a collective signification is sometimes found, as in אֶרְוַח *caravan*, properly *a wandering, a wandering crowd*. The groundform of these participles is *qāṭil* (modified from original *qāṭlūt*); but קָטְלוּ has for groundform *qāṭlūt*, comp. § 80, 2, b.

5. קָטֵל and קָטְלוּ, (*qāṭil* and *qāṭlūt*) passive Participles of Qāl, the latter (the usual Aramæan participial form) employed rather as a substantive; e. g. אֶסֶר *imprisoned*, מְשֻׁחַּם *anointed*, אֶסֶר *prisoner*, מְשֻׁחַּם *anointed one*. Both forms occur also with intrans. and even active signification, as עָצִים *strong* and the examples in § 50, Rem. 2; in the form קָטֵל (as secondary form to קָטֵל No. 2), קָטֵל *small*, and act.: נָבִיא *prophet*, מְקַדֵּר *overseer*, etc. Some words of the form קָטֵל express the *time* of the action, as קָטֵר *time of cutting, harvest*, זֶמַן קָטֵר *time of ploughing*, like the Greek verbals in τός, e. g. ἀμῆτος, ἀποτός, ῥύπητος, (acc. to the Greek Grammarians, the *cutting, plowing*, etc. is in opposition to ἀμῆτος, etc. *harvest gathered in*.—v. Liddell and Scott s. v. ἀμῆτος—; corresponding to this also the forms in the Heb. like קָטֵר are used *actively*; comp. קָטֵר in Jer. 50, 16, 51, 33, Cant. 2, 12). The feminines e. g. בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (the *secluded*).

6. קָטֵל (Arabic *kaṭal*), with unchangeable vowels (see however below). In Arab. it is the usual intensive form of the participle, and hence in Heb. expresses what is *habitual*, e. g. נָפֵחַ *apt to butt*, קָנָא *(also קָנָא) zealous*, חָטָא *sinner* (diff. from חָטָא *sinning*), גָּנֵב *thief*; so of occupations and trades (the so-called *nomina opificum*), e. g. מְבָקֵחַ *cook*, חָרֵשׁ (for חָרֵשׁ) *artificer*. It is curious that the unchangeable *ā* of the 2d syllable should be dropped in the *constr. state sing.*, as if the groundform were not *qāṭṭāl* but *qāṭṭāl* e. g. חָרֵשׁ *carpenter* Is. 44,

13.—To the same category belongs the form קָטַל (with the attenuation of *ā* of the 1st syll. to *i*) e. g. אָקָר (arab. 'akkār) *husbandman* (prop. *digger*). Here again the feminine (קָטְלָה or קָטְלָה) often takes the abstract signification, as חַטְאָה (also חַטְאָה) *female sinner* and *sin*; בִּזְיוֹן *burning fever*, with a guttural בִּזְיוֹן *signet*.

7. קָטַל and קָטַל, intensive forms applied to persons as adjectives of quality, as צַדִּיק *righteous*, חֲזָק *strong*, רַחוּם *compassionate*. Seldom passive, as אֶסֶר *fettered*.

8. קָטַל, as יוֹסֵף *corrector*, שׁוֹכֵר *drunkard*, גִּבּוֹר *strong one, hero*. Seldom passive, as יוֹלֵד *born*. As, for instance the Arab. *gabbār* (for גִּבּוֹר) shows, all these forms are but modifications of the form קָטַל, produced by the attenuation of *ā* into *i* in the first syllable, and by inflecting *ā* into *ō* in the second.

9. קָטַל (Grdf. qāṭil) indicates everywhere abnormal qualities, especially a bodily fault or a defect, e. g. חֲנֹכָה *hunch-backed*, כָּחַל *bald-headed*, אֵלֶם *dumb*, עֵר *blind*, פֶּסֶח *lame*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf*, עָקֹב *perverse*; עֶסֶר *clear-sighted* follows the same analogy. The *abstr.* signification is found in the *fem.*, אֶלְמָה *folly*, (although, before suff. אֶלְמָה).

II. Nouns after the manner of Infinitives in Qāl¹

10. קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל (really qāṭl, qāṭl, qāṭl), are with No. 11 the simplest forms of this class, of which the latter is the predominant, and the first a rare form in the verb as Infinitive (§ 45, a). As nounforms they are rare, e. g. אָבִיר *man*, עֲדָר *ornament*, צֶחֶק *laughter*. Instead of these, we much oftener find—

11. קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל, their three kindred so-called *s'gholate* forms (sprung from the crude-forms qāṭl, qāṭl, qāṭl, as preserved in Arabic); e. g. מַלְכָּה (for מַלְכָּה *malik*, § 27, Rem. 2, c) *king*, סֵפֶר (orig. form סֵפֶר) *book*, קֹדֶשׁ (orig. form qudsh) *sanctuary*; these have the characteristic vowel with the accent in the first syllable, and the unaccented helping-vowel *S'ghôl* (§ 28, 4) in the second. Instead of the *S'ghôl*, a *Pūthâch* is used with gutturals in the second or third place, as זֶרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, עֵמֶל *work*.²—Examples of feminines, מַלְכָּה *queen*, עֲזָרָה *help* (also עֲזָרָה).

In masculines as well as feminines the *abstract* is the proper and prevailing signification, as יָרֵיב *slaughter*, רַחֵם *pity*, זֶכֶר *memory*, אָסַף *gathering*; yet the *concrete* often occurs, especially in the form קָטַל, e. g. מַלְכָּה *king*, נַעַר *a youth*, בָּצֵר *brutish*, עֲבָד *servant*, אֲדֹנָי *lord*, אָבִיר *man*. In such forms the concrete sense is secondary and derived from

¹ All these forms are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Arabic as Infinitives, or as so-called *nomina verbi*.

² Only very few remain without a helping-vowel, as נָחַל *valley*, נִשְׁאָה *sin*, קִשְׁטָה *truth*; the first two of which may be explained by the circumstance that a final has there lost its value as a consonant.

the abstract, as in *נָעִיר* prop. *brutishness*, *נָעַר* prop. *season of youth* (comp. Eng. *youth* and *a youth*), or the form of the word is shortened from another with a concrete sense, as *מַלְכָּה* *מַלְכָּה* from participial forms (*mālīk*, 'ābād), meaning *ruling*, *serving*.¹ But altogether the meaning of these forms is very various, e. g. even for the instrument, as *חֶרֶב* *sword*, *דָּרֵט* *graving-tool*, and passively *נָעַר* *web* (really *weaving*, hence instrumentally *weaver's shuttle*). In the latter sense the form *מַלְכָּה* is more common, as *מִלְכָּה* *food*; this form *מַלְכָּה* is also more used in the abstract meaning, hence *נָעִיר* *a youth*, *נָעַר* *youth*.

12. *קָטַל* (*qāṭal*, like No. 1), fem. *קָטְלָה* (*qāṭālā*), both very often with the *abstr.* sense; e. g. *רָעָב* *hunger*, *שָׂבַע* *satiety* (their concretes being *רָעֵב* *hungry*, *שָׂבֵעַ* *satisfied*); fem. *צְדָקָה* *righteousness*, *נִקְמָה* *vengeance*. Less frequent is the form *קָטַל* (Grdf. *qāṭāl*), as *שָׁכָר* *strong drink*, *עֵבֶר* *grape*, *לֵב* *heart*. It would perhaps be more correct to count these forms among the participials in No. 1.

13. *קָטַל*, *קָטַל*, *קָטַל* (where *ō* is orig. *ā*), all with an immovable vowel (§ 25) between the second and third radicals, and a Sh'wā (instead of orig. short vowel) under the first, as *קֶטֶב* *book* (Arab. *kīṭāb*), *חֶמֶר* *ass* (Arab. *hīmār*), *חֶלֶם* *dream*, *חֶסֶל* *fool*, *חֶבֶל* *border*; sometimes with 'Aleph prosthetic, as *אֶזְרוֹעַ* = *זְרוֹעַ* *arm*, *אֶבְרָה* *brood*. The corresponding *feminines* are like *בִּשְׂרָה* (Arab. *bīshāra*), *good news*, *כְּתָבָה* (Arab. *kīṭābāt*) *writing*, *חֶבֶרָה* *might*; the last form coincides with the fem. of the form *קָטַל* in No. 5.

14. *מִקְטַל* (the Aram. has *מִקְטַל* as the form of the infinitive), e. g. *מִשְׁפָּט* *judgment*. This form belongs to the category of the very numerous nominal formations with preformative *מ* which (without doubt connected with *מִי* *who* and *מַה* *what* v. § 37) is employed to express the most varied relations. In all cases where the *מ* stands before a consonant with a toneless firm vowel it receives vocal *Sh'wā* (derived from an original short vowel); in those forms however in which the *מ*, with the first stem consonant makes a closed syllable, it receives at first everywhere the vowel *ā*, which however is frequently weakened into *ī* or *ē*. Corresponding to this, there is found before the accented stem syllable the pretonic lengthening, partly into *ā* and partly into *ē*. In reference to the signification we must distinguish *a*) the *מ* *sub-junctive*; thus the preformative *מ* of the participles of Piel, Hiph. and Hithp. and other active conjugations; *b*) *מ* *objective*; such as the preformative *מ* of the passive (Pual, Hoph. etc.) as well as that of

¹ In Arabic the form *qāṭil* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qāṭil*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mālāḳā* to rule, Part. *mālīk* ruling, *mālīk* rarely *malk*, ruler, king. Such an origin of *מַלְכָּה* may be shown also from other examples. Comp. *גֹּדֵר* as the name of a town, with *גֹּדֵר* (gdf. *gāḏir*) *wall*; and *כֹּתֵף* shortened (in the constr. state) from *כֹּתֵף* (*kāṭēp*) *shoulder*.

numerous nouns; comp. מִתְּקַד *a desired object*, מַלְקָח *prey*, מַלְבָּשׁ *dress*, מִזְמֹר *Psalms*; fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מַשְׁכָּר *reward*, מַלְחָמָה *war*, מִרְכָּבָה *chariot*; c) מ *instrumental*, e. g. מַזְלָג *fork*, מַסְפָּחָה *key*; מִזְמָרָה *pruning knife*, מַאֲכָלָה *knife*; d) מ *local*, e. g. מְקוֹם (from ending) *place*, מִדְבָּר *pasture*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מִדְּרוֹם *large space*, מַסְתָּר and מַסְתוּר *hiding-place*. The vowels of the 2d syllable are with the exception of *i* and *u* as well as of *ô* (which has been mostly inflected from *â*; v. the last example) originally short vowels and therefore subject to attenuation into a short vowel or *Sh'wâ*; thus מַסְתָּרָה (with *ô* not *ô*) is reduced to the original מַסְתָּרָה.

15. קָשָׁן (Grdf. *qāṣān*), קָשָׁן *qāṣān*, and other similar forms, with the terminations מִן and מִן, as מִדְּרוֹם *interpretation*, מִשְׁלָח *table*, מִדְּרוֹם *offering*; but also מִדְּרוֹם *remembrance*, מִדְּרוֹם *prophetic vision*. In a few old words instead of מִן and מִן we find מִן and מִן, as מִן *porch*, מִן and מִן *ransom*.

In some examples the affirmative *Nūn* has been appended without the aid of an accented vowel, as in מִן *Canaan* and מִן *finger-nail* (in both cases only with an auxiliary vowel before the ending). In מִן *axe* original *ā* has been modified into *S'ghol* instead of being lengthened into *ā* (to the same category belong examples with affirmative ל as מִן *iron*, מִן etc. (v. No. 35). For מִן there is a modified form מִן, written also מִן, which occurs especially in proper names, as מִן and מִן, מִן, מִן, מִן (comp. Πλάτων, *Plato*). In the *patronymic* and *gentilic* forms (§ 86, 5) the *Nūn* still appears, e. g. מִן *the city Skiloh* (called even now *Seitân*).

16. Also with the feminine-ending מִן, e. g. מִן *folly*, מִן *healing*. In the Aramæan, this (or מִן without מִן) is a usual termination of the Infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp. No. 28). Its frequent use appears only in the later O. Test. books. As a synonymous ending we find at times מִן in earlier use, as מִן *remnant*. Comp. the denominative nouns, § 86, 6.

III. Participials of the derived Conjugations.

17. From *Niph.* מִן, as מִן plur. fem. *wonders*.

18. 19. From *Pi'el* and *Hiph.*, e. g. מִן *a covering*, מִן *snuffers*, מִן *destruction*.

20. From *Po'el*, as מִן (probably shortened from מִן Is. 3, 12) and מִן *child*, מִן *war-prisoner*, מִן *store*, מִן *seal*, מִן *trumpet*; all with original *ā* in the 2d syllable.

21. 22. From *Pi'el* and *Po'lal*, as מִן (groundform *qāṣān*), and מִן (*qāṣān*), מִן *green*, מִן *quiet*, מִן *faint*.

23. מִן, מִן have an intensive and iterative sense, as מִן *full of turns* (L. *flexuosus*), מִן *full of twists* (L. *perversus*), and form adjectives with a *diminutive* signification (§ 55, 3), as מִן.

reddish, שחורור *blackish*; hence in a contemptuous sense (like Latin *miser*, *misellus*, Germ. *Gesinde*, *Gesinde*), as אספספא (with the passive form as enlargement of אספסא) *a rabble*.

IV. Nouns in the form of infinitives of the derived Conjugations.

24. From *Niph.*, as נקמולים (plur.) *struggles*.
25. From *Pi'el*, like נפץ *dispersion*, more frequently in the fem., as בקשוא *request*, with Qā'mēs unchangeable in the second syllable.
26. תנול, as שולא *requital*, חבול *folding* (of the hands); also with concrete sense (comp. No. 7), as למד *learner*, עז *strong*.
27. תפסול (Infin. of *Pi'el* very common in Arabic), e. g. תפסול *benefit*, תכריה *(covering) mantle*.
28. From *Hiph.*, like אזכרה *remembrance-offering*, ותקיעה *announcing* (with firm Qā'mēs), like Aramaean Infinitives.
29. From *Hithp.* תרצה *register* (prop. to register oneself in a genealogical table).
30. From *Po'el*, like חוללה (plur.) and חוללה *folly*; in 31 the forms are kindred, having a long vowel in both syllables, as קיטור *smoke*, צינן *prison*, קימוש, also קמוש *nettle*. Perhaps the i of the 1st syllable serves as a compensation for the omission of the Daghesch.
32. From *Pi'el*, as סגריר *heavy rain*, נאפה (only plur.) *adultery*.
33. פתקחה *opening*, Inf. to No. 23.
34. שקטל, as שלחמה *flame* (comp. § 55, 6).
35. Quadriliterals of various forms e. g. a) with affirmative ל (v. No. 15) ברזל *iron*, פרמל *orchard* (comp. פרום *vineyard*) ערפל *dark clouds*, חרול *locust*, חשאל *bright metal*; b) with the insertion of ל, so probably גלמוד *barren*, חלמל *flint*, the fem. ולעמה *glowing heat* etc. c) other forms: חרמש *sickle*, עקרב *scorpion*, סמדר *vine blossom* etc.—Quinquiliterals (probably compounded) צפרה *frog*.—See Davies' Heb. Lex. on ארנבה *hare*, and on the other words mentioned above.

§ 85.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM WEAK STEMS.

These are formed after the analogy of the strong stem. Accordingly, following the same arrangement, we shall refer these forms to the corresponding ones already described, marking them with the same number (§ 84), but mentioning only such as exhibit some notable effect of the feebleness of the stem.

I. From Stems ע"ן.

Connected with the *Inf.* of Qāl, 14. מַגֵּן *gift*, מַגֵּל *sickle*, מַגֵּחַ *overthrow*; with *Inf.* of Hiph. 28. מַגֵּל *deliverance*.—

II. From Stems ע"צ.

From the *Part.* Qāl (after the form קָטַל) we get:—1. תָּם *upright*; commonly with *Pāthdch* (to indicate the *Dāg. f. implic.* of the final syllable), תָּם אֲבֵק *abject*, רַב *much*, fem. תָּמָה. From the *Inf.* 10, 11: בָּז *booty*, תָּן *favour*, חֹק *law*, fem. מִלָּה *word*, חֹק *law*; 14. מִסָּב *that which surrounds anything*, מִסָּב *covering*, מִסָּב *shield*, מִסָּב *fastness*, fem. מִסָּב *roll*. Through the removal of the pretonic vowel have arisen forms after the analogy of No. 10 (קָטַל, קָטַל), which are further developed into proper *segholate* forms (No. 11); as מִמָּר (from מִמָּר, r. מִמָּר) *bitterness*, מִמָּר *timidity* (from מִמָּר, r. מִמָּר). 27. תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּהִלָּה *prayer*; also in the *segholate* form, as תְּהִלָּה *a melting away* (from תְּהִלָּה, r. תְּהִלָּה), perh. also תְּהִלָּה *mast* (from תְּהִלָּה *to make a tremulous sound*). From *Pilpēl* (§ 55, 4), מִלָּה *wheel* and מִלָּה *whirlwind* (from מִלָּה *to roll*), מִלָּה *contemned*, מִלָּה *crown* (of the head), מִלָּה *flask*, etc.

III. From Stems ע"י and ע"י.

The participial forms are regular. To the *Infinitive* belong: 10. יָדָע, fem. יָדָעָה *knowledge*, יָדָעָה *counsel*. 13. סִיד, for יָסִיד *divan*. 14. מִדָּה *fear*, מִדָּה *seat*, מִדָּה *snare*, מִדָּה *birth*, מִדָּה *punishment*; from verbs ע"י of the 2d class (§ 70), מִדָּה *the best* and acc. to § 71: מִדָּה, comp. Aram. מִדָּה *knowledge* from יָדָע. 27. מִדָּה *inhabitant*, מִדָּה *generation* (only *pl. constr.* מִדָּה), מִדָּה *the south*.

IV. From Stems ע"ו and ע"י.

Participles: 1. זָר *foreign*. 2. זָר *stranger*, זָרָה *a female witness, testimony*. 3. טוֹב *good*, טוֹבָה *what is good*. *Infinitives*: 11. various *segholate* forms, as מָוֶת *death* (Arab. *maut*) and בַּיִת *house* (Arab. *bait*); שֹׁט *(Arab. saut) whip*, שֹׁק *(Arab. sāg) leg*, רוּחַ *spirit*; in feminine מִיָּלָה *evil* and מִיָּלָה *evil*, מִיָּלָה *shame*. 14. מִנָּח, fem. מִנָּחָה *rest*, מִנָּח *place*, also מִנָּח *oar* (from מִנָּח), and מִנָּח *cave* (from מִנָּח). 27. מִנָּח *the deep*, מִנָּח *intelligence*, מִנָּח *testimony*. 28. מִנָּח *rest*. 31. מִנָּח *satisfaction*.

V. From Stems ל"ה.

Participles: 1. יָפֵחַ *fair*, קָשָׁה *hard*, fem. קָשָׁה. Some lose the ו, as יָד *hand*, יָד *sign* (for יָדָה). 4. רָצָה *seer*, fem. רָצָה *burnt-offering*. 5. טָהוֹר *pure*, עָנִי *poor*.—*Infinitives*: 11. The *segholates* in various forms; at times like מִנָּח *a weeping*, מִנָּח *end*; sometimes also curtailed, as מִנָּח *duration, eternity* (from מִנָּח). Sometimes the original ו appears, but then merely as a toneless helping vowel, as in מִנָּח *a swimming*,

חורב, *waste*; but on the other hand with י, as in פרי *fruit* (Grdf. *pārj* and farther attenuated to *pirj*), חלי *(chūly)* sickness, רצי (Grdf. *chij*)—*half*; the fem. form always with consonant ו or י, as in שלוח *rest*, לוח *garland*. 12. (really belonging to 1.): רעו *friend*; with rejection of the ending: עץ *tree*. 13. קרו *winter*. 14. מקנה *possession*, מראה *appearance*, מעשה *deed*, מחנה *camp*; fem. מצוה *command*. Apocopated form, מעל *height* (for מעלה). 15. קנה *wealth*, מליון *destruction*. 16. דמיון *resemblance*, פדיון *deliverance* etc. 27. תכלית *annihilation*, מבנה *structure*, תרבות *brood*. 28. אשך *testicle* for אשקה (from אשך), really 'äskdj.

VI. From doubly weak Stems.

We present only some cases of especial difficulty for the beginner to find the trilateral stem:

1. From a verb טָוַן and טָאָר, טָוַן *elevation* (Job 41, 17) for טָוַן, טָוַן from טָוַן.

2. From a verb טָוַן and טָוַן, טָוַן (pl. טָוַן) *instruction, law*, טָוַן *thanksgiving*.

3. From a verb טָוַן and טָוַן, טָוַן *tumult* Num. 24, 17 (for טָוַן = טָוַן) from טָוַן.

4. From a verb טָוַן and טָוַן, אִי (for אִי) *island*, from אִי to dwell; אִי *sign* derived from אִי which again comes from 'ävjät (with ו fem., comp. Arab. 'ajät, Aram. אִי), from אִי; קִי and קִי *cord*, from קִי; חִי *chamber* (for חִי), from חִי to dwell (secondary form of חִי v. a.); נִי *people* (from חִי, Arab. *confluxit*); רִי *irrigation* (for רִי, from חִי).

To the learner the stem is often obscured also though the loss of ו, ו or ו contraction, e. g. חִי *wine-press* for חִי, חִי and חִי *this for חִי* (from חִי to press); חִי *anger* for חִי ('anp); חִי *faithfulness* for חִי (from חִי), חִי *time* for חִי ('idt with fem. חִי), from חִי; חִי for חִי *brightness* (from חִי).

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קִי *eastern*, immediately from קִי *the east*, which is itself derived from the verb קִי.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with **מ** prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 84, No. 14); accordingly this **מ** *local* was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

1. Like the *Part. Qāl* (No. 4 of the Verbals), as **מַעֲרָר** *porter*, from **מָעַר** *gate*; **מִבְּקָר** *herdsman*, from **בָּקַר** *herd*; **מִבְּרֵם** *vine dresser*, from **בָּרַם** *vineyard*.

2. Like the verbals of No. 6, **מִקְשָׁר** *archer*, from **קָשַׁר** *bow*; **מַלְחָה** *seaman*, from **מָלַח** *salt, sea*. Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τεύς*, e. g. *πολιτης, γραμματεύς*.

3. Nouns with **מ** prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (comp. No. 14 of the Verbals), e. g. **מִמְצָן** *place of fountains*, from **צָן** *fountain*; **מִמְצִלָּה** *place about the feet*, from **צָלָה** *place about the head*, from **רָגַל**, **מִמְקֶשֶׁת** *cucumber field*, from **קָשָׂה** *cucumber*. Comp. *ἀμπέλου*, from *ἀμπελος*.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of **מִן, מִן**, as **מִמְזָרְמִזְרִי** *eastern*, from **מִזְרָה**; **מִמְחֲרִי** *hinder*, from **חָרַר**; **מִמְחֲרִי** *exterior*, from **חָרַץ**; **מִמְחֲרִי** *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from **מִחֲרָה** *a winding*; **מִמְחֲרִי** *copper image*, from **מִחֲרָה** *copper*. Also *abstracts*, as **מִמְחֲרִי** *blindness*, from **מִחֲרָה**. Comp. § 84, No. 15.

מִן forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac **מִן**), in **מִמְחֲרִי** *little man* (in the eye), *apple of the eye* from **מִן**; on the contrary **מִמְחֲרִי** *little snake*, is really an adjective form, from **מִחֲרָה** *to rub* (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way **מִמְחֲרִי** is really a denominative from **מִחֲרָה** (= **מִחֲרָה**) and not a diminutive (*pious little people* and the like), but rather *upright (righteous people)*; finally **מִמְחֲרִי** is not *little moon*, but *artificial moon (jewelry)*, and **מִמְחֲרִי**, not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from **מִחֲרָה** *neck*). Comp. *Delitzsch* on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination **מִן**, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, gentilics, and patronymics*; e. g. **מִמְחֲרִי** *strange*, from **מִחֲרָה** *what is foreign*; **מִמְחֲרִי** *sixth*, from **שֵׁשׁ** *six*; **מִמְחֲרִי** *Moabite*, from **מִחֲרָה**; **מִמְחֲרִי** *Israelite*, from **מִחֲרָה**. When the substantive is a *compound*, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. **מִמְחֲרִי** *Benjaminite*, from **מִחֲרָה** *Benjamin* (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of **מִן** we have *a*) the ending **מִן** (as in Aramæan, as **מִמְחֲרִי** *deceitful* and in proper names, as **מִמְחֲרִי** (*ferreus*, from **מִחֲרָה** *iron*) *Barzillai*; and *b*) its parallel **מִן**, as **מִמְחֲרִי** *belonging to fire* (**מִחֲרָה** *fire-food, sacrifice*; **מִמְחֲרִי** (prop. *milky*) *white poplar*, arab. *lubnaj*).

6. *Abstract nouns* formed from *concretes* by the addition of **מִן** and **מִן** (comp. the Eng. terminations *-dom, -hood, -ness, etc.*); e. g. **מִמְחֲרִי**

kingdom, from מַלְכוּת; אֵלְפִינָה *widow-hood*, from אֵלְפִין *widower*, אֵלְפִינָה *widow*; רִאשִׁית *principium*, from ראש = ראש *princeps*. (See the Verbals No. 16.)

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is יִם—, e. g. סוּס *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*, often also written defectively סִי—, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 תְּבִינִים. Nouns in י— end with יִם— in the plural, as עֲבָרִיִּים *Hebrews* (Ex. 3, 18), from עֲבָרִי, but usually a contraction takes place, as עֲבָרִים, שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.—Nouns in ה— lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. חֹזֶה *seer*, plur. חֹזִים (comp. § 75, 3).—In regard to the removal of the accent from the סִי— in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 96. The termination יִם— is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96, under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years* from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחֵל) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§ 108, 2), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending *im* is also prevalent in Phœnician, e. g. צִידֹנִים *Sidonians*; in Aramaean it is *im*, in Arabic *ün* (nominative) and *ün* (the other cases), in Ethiopic *ün*. Compare also the ending נָן in 3d pers. pl. mas. of verbs.¹

Less frequent terminations of the *plur. masc.* are:

- a) יָן—, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. מְלָכִין *kings* Prov. 31, 3, צִידִין 1 K. 11, 33, רִצָּן *a guard* 2 K. 11, 13, חִטָּין *wheat* Ez. 4, 9; defectively אִיָּן *islands* Ez. 26, 18, יָמִין *days* Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מִדִּין *carpets* Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of *Deborah* which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); עֲרִין *ruins* Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following ין); מִלִּין *words* (from the Aram. מִלָּה) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מִלִּים, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4.—Doubtful is however:

¹ On the connection between all these endings, see *Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

- b) — (with ה cast off, as according to some in dual יְדִי for יָדַי Ez. 18, 18; comp. the constr. st. § 89, 2), e. g. חֲמֵי chords Ps. 45, 9, for חֲמֵי (if it is not to be written so); עַמִּי peoples Ps. 144, 2 and prob. also Lam. 3, 14, (2 Sam. 22, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people*; comp. in paral. ex. Ps. 18, 44 עַמִּי; also in Cant. 8, 2 would the ה of חֲמֵי better be taken as a suff.). If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp. also 2 Sam. 23, 8; 1 Ch. 11, 11, 1 Sam. 20, 38 K^{thibh} and Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, S. 524 ff.), for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages. On the Assyrian plural ending ה compare, Schrader in the *Zeitsch. der DMG.* XXVI, p. 218 ff. (e. g. *maliki*, princes). In Syr. we have the corresp. plur. *malke* (ܡܠܬܐ), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud מַלְכֵי *men*; finally the apocope of the ה or ו is very common in the pronunciation of the West. Aram. e. g. תְּהִיִּם for תְּהִיִּם *Psalms*.—More doubtful still is—
- c) — (like the constr. state in Syriac); and here are reckoned, e. g. חֲמֵי *white cloths* Is. 19, 9, מַלְכֵי *princes* Judg. 5, 15, חֲמֵי *windows* Jer. 22, 14. This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem. 1) *two windows*, but it is probably a corrupt reading for חֲמֵי; חֲמֵי may be *my princes* (with suff.), and — in חֲמֵי is a formative syllable (*white cloth*). Further חֲמֵי in Is. 20, 4 is either constr. st., comp. § 89, Rem., or likewise coll. sing. with the ending —; מַלְכֵי the *Almighty*, from the stem מַלְכֵי is formed with the adjective ending —, while in the collectively used singular מַלְכֵי *locust-swarm* Am. 7, 1, Nah. 3, 17 (from מַלְכֵי) the — belongs to the stem (cf. מַלְכֵי Ps. 8, 8, f. מַלְכֵי); finally, in מַלְכֵי the *Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the so-called plural of Majesty, מַלְכֵי *lord*) the *ay* is originally a suffix; see § 121, Rem. 4.
- d) —, as supposed plural ending in מַלְכֵי = מַלְכֵי *midges*, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem מַלְכֵי) with the formative syllable — (comp. § 84, No. 15); likewise מַלְכֵי *ladder*, prop. *steps* (from מַלְכֵי I), comp. our *stairs*.

2. The plural termination for the *feminine gender* is וֹת (often written defectively וֹ—), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending וֹת, וֹת, וֹת, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these; otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִיִּם *song of praise*, plur. תְּהִיִּם; אֲמֹרֹת *letter*, plur. אֲמֹרֹת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרֹת. Feminines in וֹת— form their plural in וֹת—, and those in וֹת—, in וֹת—, e. g. מִצְרַיִם *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרַיִם; מַלְכֵי *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכֵי. These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings וֹת— and וֹת— before which *Yôdh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings **וֹת** and **וֹת**— that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of **וֹת**, e. g. **זָמִיר** *spear*, plur. **זָמִירִים** and **זָמִירֹת**; **זִנְיָה** *whoredom*, plur. **זִנְיָהִים**; **אַלְמָנָה** *widowhood*, and many other instances. After the manner of the Syriac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) **עֲדָה** (*edh'-wôth*) *laws*, with *Waw* as a consonant, from the singular **עֲדָה**.

This ending **וֹת** (*-ôth*) stands for *-âth* (as it sounds in Arab., Ethiop. in the construct state of the West. Aram. in Eastern Syriac also in Assyrian, Schrader l. l. p. 222; see on the change of *â* to *ô*, in § 9, 10, 2), and *-âth* is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending *âth* (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive; and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not *-âth* in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 107, 3) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. **עָבֹד** *cloud*, pl. **עָבִים** and **עָבוֹת**; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc.* and *fem.*) plural-endings, e. g. **דָּוָר** *m. an age*, plur. **דְּוָרִים** and **דְּוָרוֹת**; **שָׁנָה** *f. a year*, plur. **שָׁנִים** and **שָׁנוֹת**. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. **אַרִּי** *m. a lion*, plur. **אַרְיִיִּם** *m.* (*Zeph.* 3, 3), **דְּוָרוֹת** *m.* (*Job* 42, 16).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, **יָמִים** *days* and **שָׁנִים** *years* are the usual, but **יָמוֹת** (only *constr.* *Deut.* 32, 7, *Ps.* 90, 15) and **שָׁנוֹת** are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in **וֹת** denotes something like them but without life; e. g. **יָדַי** *hands*, **יָדוֹת** *artificial hands*, **טֵנוֹנִים** *Ex.* 26, 51, **כַּפָּיִם** *hands*, **כַּפּוֹת** *handles* (*L. manubria*); **קַרְנוֹת** *horns* (of the altar); **עֵינַיִם** *eyes*, **עֵינֹת** *fountains*.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in **וֹת**—, while many feminines have a plural in **וֹת**—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. **אָב** *father*, plur. **אָבוֹת**; **שֵׁם** *m. name*, plur. **שְׁמוֹת**;

on the contrary, מְלָח *f. word, plur.* מְלָחִים; מְלָנֶשׁ *f. concubine, plur.* מְלָנֶשִׁים.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonæ*; קָטָנִים *m.*, קָטָנוֹת *f.* So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים *fili*, בָּנוֹת *filiæ*; מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginæ*.

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in הִי the other termination of the plural הִים (הִי in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual הִים; e. g. גְּבוּרָה *height, pl.* גְּבוּרוֹת, construct state גְּבוּרוֹתֵי שָׂאֵל *from places at the head of Saul* 1 Sam. 26, 12; חוֹמָה *wall, plur.* חוֹמוֹת (*mænia*), whence dual חוֹמוֹתַיִם *double wall*. This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in הִי (§ 91, 3).

2. Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם *man*, collectively *men*) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מְנָחִים *men* (in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēt man*); and some of these have a singular sense (§ 108, 2), as פָּנִים *face*. Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it; hence, פָּנִים means also *faces* in Gen. 40, 7, Ez. 1, 6; אֱלֹהִים *God* and also *gods*.

§ 88.

OF THE DUAL.

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual*, which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending הִים, appended to the singular, as יָדַיִם *both hands*, יָמֵיכֶם *two days*; but instead of the feminine-ending הִי, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath*, with a long *ā* (on account of the open syllable), thus הִיאִי, as שֵׁפָה *lip*, שֵׁפָתַיִם *both lips*; the ה of the termination הִי remains, as כְּהָשָׁה, in dual כְּהָשָׁתַיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. כְּנָף *wing* (ground form *kānāph*), Dual כְּנָפַיִם (the first *ā* becoming *Shwā*, since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, 11), as *foot* (Grdf. *rāgl*), *דָּוָלַיִם*; yet *קַרְנִים* is used as well as *קַרְנִים* (from *קָרֵן* *horn*), *לְחָיִים* from *לָחַי* *cheek* (as from the plurals *לְחָיִים*).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are;—*a*) *אֵין* (as in West. Aram.,—comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and *אֵי* (—*āni* of the nom. in Arab.), as *הָאֵין* Gen. 37, 17, and *הָאֵין* 2 K. 6, 13 (*pr.* name of a city, prop. *two wells*); *בֵּית הָאֵין* (dual of *בֵּית*) name of a town, called also *קִירְיָתַיִם* in 1 Ch. 6, 61, Josh. 21, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mésa's Inscription in line 10 *קִירְיָתַן* *Qiryathān* or *Qiryathēn*=*קִירְיָתַיִם* in O. Test.; in line 30 *בֵּית דְּבָלָהִים*=*בֵּית הָאֵין* in O. Test., also line 15 *צִדְרִים*=*צִדְרִים* *noon*; in line 20 *מֵאֵתַיִם*=*מֵאֵתַיִם* *two hundred*);—*b*) *שְׁנֵים*, prob. in the *pr. n.* *הַשְּׁנֵים* *the double spring*, and *שְׁנֵים* in *שְׁנֵים* *two* in the combination *שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר* *twelve* (besides the usual form *שְׁנֵים*);—*c*) *יָדַיִם* (with *ם* cast off), Ez. 13, 18 (if we do not read *יָדַיִם* here), perhaps also *יָדַיִם* (*double windows*) Jer. 22, 14 (but see § 87, 1, c).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words *שָׁמַיִם* *water*, *שָׁמַיִם* *heaven*, *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם* *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars *שָׁמַי* (comp. § 87, 1); the latter is probably a distended form for the older *יְרוּשָׁלַם*¹ and the Massora, with its *Qerî* *perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form *שָׁלַם* Ps. 76, 3, and the Aramaic *יְרוּשָׁלַם*.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as *יָדַיִם* *both hands*, *קַרְנֵי* *both fists*, *אָזְנוֹתַיִם* *both ears*, *שֵׁנִים* *set of teeth* (used of the *two* rows); further *נַעֲלָיִם* *pair of shoes*, *מֵאֲזֵנִים* *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as *יּוֹמִים* *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*, *שָׁנָתַיִם* *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*, *אַמְתָּתַיִם* *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as *שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם* *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. 6, 2, Ez. 1, 6; *שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם* *seven eyes* Zech. 3, 9; *כָּל-יָדַיִם* *all hands* Ez. 21, 12; *כָּל-בְּרָכָיִם* *all knees* Ezek. 7, 17; *קִמְצֵי* *cymbals* Ezr. 3, 10; *שְׁנֵים* *double-hooks* Ez. 40, 43.—With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos 3, 12, Judg. 16, 28.

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus Ling. Hebrææ, p. 629.

² With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwy-law* (*two-hands*) used for the only plur. of *llaw* (*hand*), and *dwy-fron* (*two-breasts*) for the *chest*, but *bronau* (the reg. pl. of *bron*) for the *breasts*.—Tr.

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its development. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo, duo, octo*. In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs*, as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see *Grimm's Gramm.* I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings*,¹ but indicates the *relations of case*, either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative*, or by prepositions (§ 117); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttered in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen*. In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns² and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. דָּבָר אֱלֹהִים *word*, דִּבְרֵי אֱלֹהִים *word of God*, literally *word-God* (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word*, like *fruit-tree*); יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand*, יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand of the king*; and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. דְּבָרִים

¹ On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

² In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "*der Thron des Königs*".

words, דְּבַרֵּי הָעָם *words of the people*. Thus in Hebrew,¹ the noun which stands *before a genitive* suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state*, while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state*. This goes to show that the *construct state* is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by Mäqqēph (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state*, see the Syntax, §§ 114, 116.

2. The *vowel-change* which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

- a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* יִם— and יִם—, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply י— (comp. Rem. below); e. g. סוּסִים *horses*, פָּרַעֲה סוּסֵי *horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינִים *eyes*, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *eyes of the king*.
- b) In place of the usual feminine-termination ה— (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending ח—, as מַלְכָּה *queen*, שֶׁבָּא מַלְכָּת *queen of Sheba*. But the feminine-termination ח— remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending יָח—.
- c) Nouns in ה— (from verbs ל"ה, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in ה—; as רֹאֶה *seer*, *constr.* רֹאֶה; undoubtedly this ה— is contracted from original י— (the ה being orthographically retained) whilst the *absol. state* has been changed, after the *Yôdh* had been dropped, from רֹאֵ into רֹאֶה (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with דִּי *constr.* דִּי *sufficiency*; חַיִּי *life*, *constr.* חַיִּי, and so also בָּרִיא (בִּי) *valley*, *constr.* בָּרִיא (בִּי).

¹ What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gair Duw*, i. e. *word-God*, without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—Tr.

On the ending *ı* and *ı*— in the *constr. st.*, see § 90.

Rem. to a). Probably the liquid $\mathfrak{m}$ at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin $-m$ before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the m , in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IX. 4, § 40; *Schneider's* Lat. Gram. I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding $\mathfrak{n}$ of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramean is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending $\mathfrak{n}$ in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the m , the final vowel i of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing a (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that ai arose, which was then contracted to $\mathfrak{e}$ (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of $\mathfrak{a}$, the Syriac still has $\mathfrak{a}$: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form $\mathfrak{a}$ $\mathfrak{a}$ $\mathfrak{a}$ Is. 20, 4.—It is obvious that the $\mathfrak{a}$ of the *dual* has come from $\mathfrak{a}$ ($\mathfrak{a}$ from $\mathfrak{a}$).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

ת— local, ו— and י appended to the construct state.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic developement, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, *ibid.* Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 113). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer*, *Studia asiatica*, III., 1840, p. XVIII.; *Tuch*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *'ammuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for *'ammik (gen.)* and *'ammak (acc.)*. In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia*, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 96 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Nöldeke* in the *Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1871. St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending ה־ (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

- a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place¹ (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. יָמָה *sea-ward*, מִמָּוֶת *westward*, צָפוֹנָה *northward*, אֲשׁוּרָה *to Assyria*, בָּבֶלְיָה *to Babylon*, הָרָה (from הָר) *mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10, אֶרֶצָה *to the earth*, בֵּיתָה *into a house*, תִּרְצָה *to Tirzah* (from תִּרְצָה) 1 K. 14, 17, עֲזָה *to Gaza* (from עֲזָה) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, הָהָרָה *to the mountain*, הַבֵּיתָה *into the house*, הָאֹהֶלָה (Grdf. o'hl) *into the tent* (also הָאֹהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6, Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house*, אֶרֶצָה הַנֶּגֶב *to the south-land* Gen. 20, 1, אֶרֶצָה מִצְרַיִם *towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20, מִדְּבָרָה הַמִּשְׁק *towards the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 K. 19, 15 מִזְרָהָה *towards the rising of the sun*, eastward, Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, כְּשִׁרְיָהָה *to the Chaldeans*, Ez. 11, 24, הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heavens-ward*.
- b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where*² something is; e. g. מַחֲנֵימָה *at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*) Jer. 18, 2 comp.

¹ See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 1: and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

² So also elsewhere the accusativo, § 118, 1.

2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בְּבָבֶלֶת Jer. 29, 15 and זָבֶלֶת Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusative of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling*; also expressions like: מֵאֵרֶץ צָפוֹן *the side towards the north* Jos. 15, 5, comp. 18, 15, 20, Ex. 26, 18).

- c) The proper sense of the ending ה־ is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after ל־ or עַד (which is easily explicable), e. g. לְמַעַל *upwards*, לְמַטָּה *downwards*, לְשֵׁאֵלָה *into the grave* Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אַפְהֶק *unto Aphhek*, Josh. 13, 4 but also after ב־ and even after מִן e. g. בְּנִגְבָּה *in the south* Josh. 15, 21, מִבְּבֶלֶת *from Babylon* Jer. 27, 16. Comp. also § 80, Rem. 2, f.

This termination ה־ has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time*; so, in עַתָּה (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עָתָה), מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year*. Its use is peculiar in הָלֵיְלָהּ, prop. *ad profanum!* = μὴ γένοιτο, *absit*, or *God forbid!*

Also as *accusatives of the object* we may regard not only a few names of places, Num. 32, 35, Josh. 21, 36 (אֶרֶץ־יִזְרְעֶל), but also אֶרֶץ־זָבֻלֶן *terram Z.* and אֶרֶץ־נַחֲשֹׁלִי *terram N.* Is. 8, 23; comp. Job. 34, 13 and § 80, Rem. 2, e.

As the ending ה־ is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change; in מִדְבָּרָה (*const. state*, v. § 26, 3, c) the short vowel *ä* remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as אֶרֶץ, מִדְבָּרָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also מִשְׁכָּנָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the *ä* of the ending ה־ is lengthened to *ā* in the accented open syllable, as in מִדְבָּרָה. Moreover, the ה־ itself is in some cases shortened to ה־, as נָחַל *to Nob* 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; דֶּדָן *to Dedan* Ez. 25, 13, אֵיזֶה *whither* 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in ה־, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* ו־ (the obsolete *genitive* ending) and י־ (also י־ in proper names) the

obsolete *nominative* ending. The reference to case in these forms is *quite lost*, and they are to be regarded simply as *archaisms*, which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these names, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, viz. in the *constr. state*.¹

- a) The ending **־י** is not quite rare in the *construct state*, and it usually has the tone, e. g. **בְּנֵי אֲחִנֹּחַ** *his ass's colt* Gen. 49, 11, **עֹזְבֵי הָעֶזְאוֹן** *forsaking the flock* Zech. 11, 17, **שֹׁכְנֵי סִנְיָה** *dweller in the bush* Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, **לָיְלָה נִגְבְּחֵי** *stolen at night* Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), **עַל דְּבָרָיו מְלֵאֵי מִשְׁפָּט** *full of justice* Is. 1, 21, **אַחֲרֵי מִלְכִּיזְדֶּק** *after the manner of Melchizedek* Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 116, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. **רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם** *mistress among the nations* Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the **־י** here may have proceeded from the foregoing **לְרַבָּתִי**, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also **אֶהְבֵּתִי לְדָוִד** Hos. 10, 11); **אֶסְרִי לַצֵּמַח** *binding to the vine* Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex. 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Infin.*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chirèq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.*, as **וְזִלְתִּי** (= **זִלְתִּי**) *besides*, **מִי** (poet. = **מִן**) *from*, **בְּלִי** *not*, and in compound proper names, as **מֶלֶכ־צְדִיק** (i. e. king of righteousness), **בְּרִיאֵל** (man of God), **הַנִּיָּאֵל** (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. **הַנִּיָּבַעַל** (favour of Ba'al).

¹ In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending **־י** with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, b) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

- b) The always accented ending *î*— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 *הַחַיָּה הָאֲדָמָה* *the beast of the earth* = *חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ* v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are *בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר* *son of Beor* Num. 24, 3, 15, *בְּנוֹ זִפּוֹר* *son of Zippor* 23, 18, and *מַעְיֵנִי מַיִם* *fountain of water* Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending *î*—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations *î* and *î* have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as *î*— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in *أَبِي, أَخِي, أُمِّي* (constr. st. of *أَب* *father*), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state *אָבִי, אִמִּי, אָחִי*, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., *אָבִי*, in Heb. *אָבִי* (in prop. names as *מְרִימָה* and *מְרִימָה*), *אָבִי* (שְׂמִינִי), *אָבִי* (שְׂמִינִי), a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how *אָבִי* occurs along with *אָבִי*, and *אָבִי* with *אָבִי*.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, b), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

1. The suffixes to the singular Nouns are these:—

Singular of Pronoun.	Plural of Pronoun.
1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי <i>my.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> אֲנֵינוּ <i>our.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אָתָּה, אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה} \\ f. \text{אַתָּה, אַתָּה} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thy.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתָּם, אַתָּם} \\ f. \text{אַתָּן, אַתָּן} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>your.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּא, הוּא; הוּ, הוּ} \\ f. \text{הִיא, הִיא} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם, הֵם, poet.} \\ f. \text{הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>their.</i>

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms here than when they are attached to the verb, and their use is as follows:—

- a) The forms without a union-vowel are joined to the few nouns which in the *constr. st.* end with a vowel, as אֶבְרָהָם , אֶבְרָהָם and אֶבְרָהָם , אֶבְרָהָם , אֶבְרָהָם , אֶבְרָהָם .
- b) The forms with a union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), are joined to nouns ending with a consonant. The union-vowel is usually *a* in the 3rd *sing.*, *fem.* אֵינִי (for *aha*), and 3rd *plur.* הֵנּוּ , הֵנּוּ , הֵנּוּ ; also in 3d *sing. masc.* הוּ , הוּ of which the *o* is contracted from *āhu* (אֵהוּ) as well as the pausal form of the 2d *masc.* אַתָּה (as a half lengthening of original אַתָּה). The forms with *e* are in the above mentioned *pers.* only used with nouns in לִי (from the stem לִי) *constr. st.* לִי (contracted from *ay*) e. g. שְׂדֵה־יְרֵמִי *his field* (for *sadaihu* or directly from *sadē-hu*); מַרְאָה from *marajhā* = *marāhā* with the rejection of *Yōdh* and the half lengthening of *ā* to *Sēghōl* in the accented open syllable; but שְׂדֵה־יְרֵמִי *her field* from *sāda[ḡ]hā*. Outside of these לִי forms is found the union vowel *e*, but rarely with 3d *pers.* e. g. אֶרְבֵּי־אֶרְבֵּי *his light* Job 25, 3, לְמִינֵהוּ *after its kind* Gen. 1, 21, 25; but in 2d *sing. fem.* אַתָּה and in 1st *plur.* אֲנֵינוּ , are the customary forms, while אַתָּה , אֲנֵינוּ are of rare occurrence; see Rem. 2.—Instead of אַתָּה , אַתָּה , אַתָּה (with *Shwā* mobile), when the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, we have אַתָּה , אַתָּה , אַתָּה as in רוּחַ־יְהוָה *thy spirit*, בֹּרֵאֲךָ *thy creator* Is. 43, 1, רֵעֶךָ *your friend* Job 6, 27.

2. Bare forms are—

Sing. 2d *pers. m.*, in pause יָדְךָ , in יָדְךָ *thy hand* Ps. 139, 5; *fem.* יָדְךָ Ez. 5, 12, יָדְךָ Ps. 103, 3, Jer. 11, 15; once יָדְךָ in יָדְךָ *thy envoys* Nah. 2, 14, comp. No. 2, Rem. 2; also יָדְךָ (יָדְךָ Is. 23, 1).—3d *pers. m.*, e. g. in the frequent אֵלֶיךָ Gen. 9, 21, 12, 8, 13, 3, 35, 21 (throughout with *Qere* אֵלֶיךָ); אֵלֶיךָ 2 K. 19, 23, *Kethibh*, for which we find אֵלֶיךָ in Is. 37, 24; אֵלֶיךָ and אֵלֶיךָ Gen. 49, 11 (*Qere* אֵלֶיךָ).
Plur. 1st *pers.* אֲנֵינוּ , in pause אֲנֵינוּ Job 22, 20, comp. Ruth 3, 2, Is. 42, 10.—2d *pers. fem.* אַתָּה Ez. 23, 48, 49.—3d *pers. m.* הֵם .

2 Sam. 23, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form סִיחִי). Fem. סִיחִיָּה 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; סִיחִיָּה Gen. 41, 21, סִיחִיָּה Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause; finally סִיחִי as suff. to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* (י־ comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the *construct state* without suffixes, viz. the contraction into י־ (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic. suff. י־יָהּ) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ā* is either lengthened into $\bar{a}$ (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *S'ghôl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>com.</i> י־	<i>my.</i>	1. <i>com.</i> י־נֶה	<i>our.</i>
2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מ־יֶה} \\ \text{פ־יֶה} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thy.</i>	2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מ־יָכֶם} \\ \text{פ־יָכֶן} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>your.</i>
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מ־יָיָה, poet. י־יָהּ} \\ \text{פ־יָהּ} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{מ־יָיָהם, poet. י־יָהֶם} \\ \text{פ־יָהֶן} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>their.</i>

In these forms the original י־ is a) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* י־יָהּ and throughout the plural, as סִיחִיָּה , סִיחִיָּה etc.; b) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* סִיחִי , the real suffix ending י or י־ being blended with the final *Yôdh* into י־ , and in the 2d *fem. sing.* סִיחִיָּה (with auxiliary *Chirêq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand c) the *Yôdh* of י־ is abandoned and a) the $\bar{a}$ lengthened into $\bar{a}$ in the 3d *masc. sing.* סִיחִי i. e. *sūsāw*; β) $\bar{a}$ inflected into accented *S'ghôl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* סִיחִיָּה from *sūsākhā* and in the 3d *fem. sing.* סִיחִיָּה from *sūsāhā*.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpointed MSS creates slight confusion with the sing.), e. g. הִיָּהּ for הִיָּהּ *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רֵעֵיוֹ for רֵעֵיוֹתִי *his friends* Job 42, 10, לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds* Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the *Yôdh* occurs esp. with the *suff.* 3d pers. *m. sing.*, where we very often find יָ, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the *Q'ri* to יוֹ, e. g. הָצִי *his arrows* Ps. 58, 8 in *Q'ri* יָצִי.

2. Unusual forms are: *sing.* 2d pers. *fem.* יָךְ (after the unchanged interjection אֲשֶׁרִי *blessed!* Eccl. 10, 17, comp. *Delitzsch*), יָכִי (comp. Syr. כִּי) 2 K. 4, 3 and 7 in *K'thibh*; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is מַלְאָכָיָהּ (so acc. to *Kimchi* Lex.) *thy messengers* apparently for מַלְאָכָי = מַלְאָכָי Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. *masc.* וָרִי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d *fem.* וָרִיָּהּ Ez. 41, 15.—*Plur.* 2d pers. *fem.* יָכֶיךָ Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. *masc.* יָרֵחָהּ Ez. 40, 16, *fem.* יָרֵחָהּ Ez. 1, 11.

3. On יָרֵחָהּ see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix-forms* (already embodying the plural-ending י) to the feminine plural in וָרִי, as מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ, מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.¹

NB. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending וָרִי, as מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ Ps. 132, 12 (if not the *sing.* for מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ acc. to *Kimchi* in the Lex. מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ 2 K. 6, 8, for מִסְתַּרְתֶּיךָ); Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. לָרִי). In the 3d *plur.* this is even the more prevalent mode; e. g. אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers*, oftener than אֲבוֹתָם; so also שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דּוֹרֹתָם *their generations*, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with יָרֵחָהּ.

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns* with *suffixes*; and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct*-ending וָרִי of the *feminine* retains its *Päthäch* before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם, כֵּן, but changes it to *Qä'měš* before the *light* suffixes.

¹ See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 *Sing. Perf.* of verbs לָרִי § 75, 4.

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוס	a horse	סוּסָה	a mare.	
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוס	horse-of.	סוּסָה	mare-of.	
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סוּסִי	my horse.	סוּסָתִי	my mare.	
2.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסְךָ	thy horse.	סוּסָתְךָ	thy mare.
3.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסוֹ	his horse.	סוּסָתּוֹ	his mare.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסָהּ	her horse.	סוּסָתָהּ	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horse.	סוּסָתֵינוּ	our mare.	
2.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסְכֶם	your horse.	סוּסָתְכֶם	your mare.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסְכֶן	your horse.	סוּסָתְכֶן	your mare.
3.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסָם	their horse.	סוּסָתָם	their mare.
	<i>fem.</i>	סוּסָן	their horse.	סוּסָתָן	their mare.

Plural.

	<i>Absol. st.</i>	סוסים	horses.	סוסות	mares.	
	<i>Constr. st.</i>	סוּסֵי	horses-of.	סוּסוֹת	mares-of.	
<i>Suff. sing.</i>	1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵי	my horses.	סוּסוֹתֵי	my mares.	
	2.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ	thy mares.
		<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ	thy horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ	thy mares.
	3.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיוֹ	his horses.	סוּסוֹתָיו	his mares.
		<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהָ	her horses.	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ	her mares.
<i>plur.</i>	1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ	our horses.	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ	our mares.	
	2.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם	your mares.
		<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן	your horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן	your mares.
	3.	<i>masc.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם	their mares.
		<i>fem.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן	their horses.	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן	their mares.

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection* comp. § 79, 2), are caused—*a*) by a noun following in the

¹ In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 3).—*Tr.*

genitive,—*b*) by pronominal suffixes,—*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz.—

a) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings ים— and ים— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In disyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Sh'wā* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. דָּבָר *word* (groundform *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: דְּבָרִי, plur. דְּבָרֶיךָ, etc.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual: כְּנָפַי; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: פָּקִיד *overseer*, plur. פְּקִידִים with the suff. to the sing.: פְּקִידִי etc.; to the plur. פְּקִידֶיךָ etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with the suff. עוֹלָמִי etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened *ē* (originally *i*) in the 2d syllable, this *ē* is reduced to *Sh'wā mobile* before the accented suffix e. g. אֶיִב *enemy*, plur. אֶיִבִּים, with suff. אֶיִבִּי etc., likewise in the formations analogous to קֶטֶל (§ 84, No. 9) e. g. אֶלֶם *dumb*, pl. אֶלֶמִּים.

b) When the tone is moved forward two places, as in the dual and plural construct, and when the *grave*¹ suffixes are appended to the plural (יָהֶם, יָהֶם). In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh'wā*, and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

¹ Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely קָם, קָן, קָם, קָן, קָם, קָן, קָם, קָן, קָם, קָן.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e. g. *words of the people*, דְּבָרֵי הָעָם *your words*, דְּבָרֶיךָ, דְּבָרֶיהֶם *their words* (in which cases the *i* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ā*).

Rem. In the so-called *Š'ghô'late* forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (מִלְכִּי *my king*, מִלְכֶּנִּי etc.); on the other hand, before the ending —ים, —וֹ, —וּ (partly also bef. —ים) a *Qā'mēš* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (מִלְכִּים, מִלְכֻּוֹ). This *Qā'mēš* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with דְּבָרִי etc. from דְּבָר) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state*, but to the *absol. state* (מִלְכֶּיךָ, מִלְכֶּיהֶם etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b* מִלְכֵּי, with grave suffix מִלְכֵּיכֶם etc.

- c) Before the *Sh'wâ mobile* which precedes the suff. הַ when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. דְּבָרָהּ, דְּבָרָהּ; but before the grave suffixes כֶּם and כֶּן in the same position it is shortened, thus דְּבָרְכֶם (*ābār'khēm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. דְּבָר אֶלֶהִים; הַיָּצֵר הַבִּיטָה (from הַיָּצֵר).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are, not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25—28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the וֹ of the ל"ו stems (comp. § 91, 1, 6), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted ע"ע stems in cases like דִּקָּה, דִּקָּה etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (תָּשַׁל, תָּשַׁלָּה, תָּשַׁלְתִּי), in the noun the *first* (דְּבָר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

- a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 107, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. *חֶרֶב* *f. sword*, like *מֶלֶךְ* *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending *וֹת*—; so *חֶרֶב* has *plur. absol. חֶרֶבוֹת*, *const. חֶרְבוֹת*, which is also the form before *suffixes*; see § 95.
- b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending *ים*—. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note ¹; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
	(king)	(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פֶּעַל
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נִצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֶּכָּם	סִפְרֶכָּם	קֹדְשֶׁכָּם	נַעְרֶכָּם	נִצְחֶכָּם	פַּעְלֶכָּם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכִּים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נַעְרִים	נִצְחִים	פַּעְלִים
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נִצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכִּי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נַעְרִי	נִצְחִי	פַּעְלִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נַעְרֵיכֶם	נִצְחֵיכֶם	פַּעְלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רַגְלִים	קַבְצִים	מְתָנִים	נַעֲלִים		
	(feet)	(two heaps Pr. N.)	(loins)	(sandals)		
" <i>constr.</i>	רַגְלִי		מְתָנִי	נַעֲלִי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵיתָה	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם	אִמָּה	חֵק
	(death)	(olive)	(scourge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
" <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶת	זֵיתָה	שׁוֹט	פֵּרִי	יָם	אִמָּה	חֵק
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתָי	שׁוֹטִי	פֵּרִי	יָמִי	אִמִּי	חֻקִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פֵּרִיכֶם	יָמֶכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מָוֶתִים	זֵיתִים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִּים	יָמִים	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּים
" <i>constr.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתָי	שׁוֹטִי	(gazelles)	יָמִי	אִמּוֹת	חֻקִּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מָוֶתִי	זֵיתָי	שׁוֹטִי		יָמִי	אִמּוֹתַי	חֻקִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מָוֶתְכֶם	זֵיתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם		יָמֶיכֶם	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקֵּיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>		עֵינַיִם	יְמֵינִים	לְחָיִים	כַּפַּיִם	שֵׁנַיִם	
		(eyes)	(two days)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
" <i>constr.</i>		עֵינָי		לְחָיִי	כַּפָּי	שֵׁנָי	

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
	(word)	(wise)	(an old man)	(shoulder)	(court)	(field)
" <i>constr.</i>	דְּבַר	חָכֵם	זָקֵן	כָּתֵף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי	כָּתְפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמְכֶם	זָקְנְכֶם		חֲצָרְכֶם	שָׂדְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דְּבָרִים	חָכְמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	[שָׂדִים]
" <i>constr.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי		חֲצָרִי	שָׂדִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חָכְמֵיכֶם	זָקְנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפִים	חֲלָצִים	יָרֵכִים			
	(wings)	(loins)	(thigh)			
" <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפֵי					

III.

IV.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֵף	פֹּקֵד	עָנִי	כָּתֵב
	(perpetuity)	(enemy)	(prophet)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אֹיֵב	חֹזֵף	פֹּקֵד	עָנִי	כָּתֵב
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֹיְבֵכֶם	חֹזְכֶם	פֹּקִידְכֶם		כָּתְבְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עוֹלָמִים	אֹיְבִים	חֹזִים	פֹּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	כָּתְבִים
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי	עָנִי	כָּתְבִי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אֹיְבִי	חֹזִי	פֹּקִידִי		כָּתְבִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֹיְבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פֹּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנֵיכֶם	כָּתְבֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מְלָקָחִים	מֵאֻזָּנִים		שָׁבָעִים		
	(tongues)	(balance)		(fortnight)		
" <i>constr.</i>		מֵאֻזָּנִי				

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parād. I* comprises the whole circle of the so-called segholate forms (§ 84, 11). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, מִלֵּךְ, מִסֵּךְ, קָרָשׁ, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *S'ghôl* into מִלֵּךְ (ā inflected into ē) מִסֵּךְ (ī lengthened into ē) קָרָשׁ (ū lengthened into ō). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *S'ghôl*, an auxiliary *Pā'thäch*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original *ū* is replaced by *ō*, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the *ā* and *ō* in the shape of a *Chāṭēph* (בְּעָרִי, מְעָלִי); before a following *Sh'wā* this *Chāṭēph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (*ā, ō*) according to § 28, 3; thus בְּעָרָה etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending ׀—, a pretonic *Qā'mēš*, according to § 92, *b*, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'wā*. This *Qā'mēš* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (מִלְכִּי not מִלְכִּי). On the other hand the pretonic *Qā'mēš* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle ׀ and ׀ (§ 85, IV, 11); the ground forms מִרְרִי and זִירִי, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into מִרְרִי and זִירִי. *Parād. i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle ׀ or ׀ has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form *saw!*). *Parād. k* is a form from a stem לָרָה (§ 85, V, 11).

The *paradigms l, m, n* are forms of stems עָרַע, therefore contracted out of עָרַע, עָרַע, עָרַע with regular lengthening into

רם, חק, אם, etc. These forms take *Dāghē'sh* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. רמי, רמים etc. (s. § 85, II, 10, 11).

REMARKS.

1. To *I a* and *d* (Groundf. קטל). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into *ā*, like כרם *vineyard*, זרע, זרע, *seed*, and so always with קטל *earth*, with the article חרץ (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, ἁφελ for חבל, חבל). However there is sometimes found along with the form with *ā* in *Pause* also the simple inflection of *ā* into *ē*, e. g. חסד, together with חסד, and very frequently the form with *S'ghol* only, e. g. חסד *east*, חסד *help*, etc.—With two *S'ghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found לחם *bread* (*Pause* לחם) and רחם *womb* (*Pause* רחם) together with לחם (*Pause* לחם); before the closing *h* stands always auxiliary *S'ghol* as חסד, חסד, חסד etc. (also written חסד).

The *constr. st.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. חסד, חסד, חסד, also חסד etc.

The so-called ח— local is added to the groundform, thus חסד, in *Pause* חסד; however compare also חסד from חסד *south* and חסד (perhaps from a secondary form חסד).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châteph Pâthäch* instead of the *silent Sh'wâ*: חסד etc. (however there is also חסד, חסד etc.). With rather a large number of קטל forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the *ā* of the first syllable is weakened into *ē*, as חסד *my body*, חסד; the same with חסד, חסד, חסד and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with *ā* there may exist another with original *ē* in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with חסד and חסד etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found חסד etc. from חסד and חסד. Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *ē* for *ā*: חסד, חסד etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending חסד— also the ending חסד, e. g. חסד, חסד, together with חסד (Ex. 13, 20) etc.; construct state חסד, חסד. Others have only the ending חסד e. g. חסד const. חסד from חסד. Without *Qāmēs* before the ending חסד— is found חסד *entrails* (comp. however also the numbers חסד, twenty, חסד 70 and חסד 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. חסד Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); חסד Canticles 8, 6, חסד Ez. 17, 9; חסד Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, *not* in חסד Is. 55, 3 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of *ā* into *ē* (v. above) e. g. חסד. Even חסד Is. 57, 4 besides חסד Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אֲלֻכִּים *two thousand*, נַעֲלִים *sandals*, בְּרָכִים *knees* (ā weakened into ē), with suffix בְּרָכִי, also forms with pretonic Qā'mēš like קַרְנִים (also קַרְנִים) *horns*, הַדְּבָרִים *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *c*. By rejecting a final א (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חָטָא *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives Š'ghōl instead of the original ḥ, e. g. חָטָא, חָטָא etc.; the same in construct plur. חָטָא etc.; ḥ forms חָטָא 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the — of חָטָא before weak א.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands קָטָא Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals נָעַל etc., with ח however also אָנָא, בָּרָא; with a closing guttural גָּבַח, רָבַע etc.; with א however אָנָא. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original ā; e. g. גָּדֹל (Ps. 150, 2) and also גָּדֹל from גָּדֹל *greatness*; קָטָא (with Dāghēš forte *dirimens* and the echo of the ā in the form of —) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form קָטָא qāḥhēm stands Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms נָעַל Is. 1, 31 (instead of נָעַל) and חָטָא Is. 52, 14 (for חָטָא 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original ā into ō is retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the ō before the ח— local, e. g. חָטָא, חָטָא Gen. 24, 67 (also חָטָא 18, 6).

In the absol. pl. the original ā vanishes generally before Qā'mēš e. g. בֹּקֶר from בֹּקֶר *morning*, מַעֲלִים *works*, לַנְּחִים *lances*; on the other hand with initial gutturals the ā remains as Chaleph Qā'mēš, e. g. חָטָא *months*, חָטָא *gazelles*, חָטָא *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, חָטָא *sanctuaries*, and חָטָא *roots* (qōdhāšim etc. with ō as the orthographical representative of —); also before light suffixes חָטָא etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between חָטָא and חָטָא (the latter especially after the article חָטָא); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From חָטָא *tent* is found חָטָא and חָטָא (after the Syriac; comp. above חָטָא); with light suffixes חָטָא etc.; so from חָטָא *way*, חָטָא (also חָטָא). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of חָטָא *Caravan* and that of חָטָא *way*; however there is also found with the former signification חָטָא (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter latter (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original ā there is only חָטָא Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like חָטָא, חָטָא etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the second stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a*) after the form חָטָא (comp. § 84, No. 10): חָטָא *honey*, חָטָא *little*, in pause: חָטָא, חָטָא *man* Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere חָטָא and infinitives like חָטָא § 45, 1, a);

שָׁכַם, *ā* being modified into *ē* (pause however שָׁכַם); *Local* שָׁכַח, also שָׁכַח, Hos. 6, 9; with suffixes in the usual manner שָׁכַח Gen. 19, 33, 35 (as *infinitive* with vocal *Sh'wā*, not שָׁכַח). On the other hand the *ā* is retained in the *plural absol.* before the artificially doubled final consonant; אֲנָשִׁים (*constr.* אֲנָשִׁי) *morasses*, מִרְיָשִׁים *myrtles*, קִרְיָשִׁים; *b*) after the form קָטַל *well*, זָאב *wolf* etc. *Local* בָּאָרוּ, with *Suff.* בָּאָרִי. *Plur.* זָאָבִים, זָאָרִים, on the other hand בָּאָרוֹת, *construct* בָּאָרוֹת; *c*) after the form קָטַל בָּאָשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בָּאָשׁוֹ) perhaps also לְאָם *Nation*, *Pl.* לְאָמִים, and the large number of infinitives, like קָרַב with *suffix* קָרְבוֹ etc.

5. Parad. *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י, *a*) after the form קָטַל with *Wāw* as firm consonant whereby the original *ā* is almost always lengthened into *ā* (Parad. *g*), thus מָוֹת = *death*; אֲנִי *mishap*, עָלִי *wrong* מִדְּבַר *midst*; with final א: שָׁמָּה *vainness*; comp. however also רָחֵב *width*. In the *constr. state* occurs always a contraction: מוֹת etc. (from the original *maut*), likewise before suffixes מוֹתֵי etc. Exception: עָלִי as *constr. state* Ez. 28, 18 (according to *Kimchi*) and with *suff.* עָלִי. The contraction remains throughout the plur. (*v.* however below letter *c*); *b*) from the form קָטַל with *Yōdh* consonant (Parad. *h*). With א at the end גָּיָא (*י*) *constr.* גָּיָא (*י*). The uncontracted form (in the absolute state with auxiliary *Ch'rēg*) remains also before *local* ה־, e. g. בְּיָרְחוֹ (on the other hand in the *construct state*, e. g. בְּיָרְחוֹ יוֹסֵפֶה). In the *plur. absolute* there are found uncontracted forms, like מְרִינֹת *springs*, מְרִינֹת *bucks* etc.; *c*) with the contraction of ו and י already in absolute state sing. (Parad. *i*). In this manner there rise formations which are throughout unchangeable; thus from the groundform קָטַל יוֹם (from *yawm*), יוֹמִים (in the plur. however with a stronger formation שָׁנִים *cattle*) etc.; with middle *Yōdh*: חָיִל (also חָיִל Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere חָיִל, in *prose* חָיִל); from the groundform קָטַל מֵי: מֵיִם (v. however § 96); from the groundform קָטַל מֵי: מֵיִם etc.

Strong forms in the plur. are מְרִינֹת *pots* and שְׁטָרִים *streets*. Finally belong here also forms with א quiescent, like רֹאשׁ *head* (modified from רֹאשׁ = רֹאשׁ v. § 96) and צֶמֶד *flock*.

6. To paradigm *k*, segholate forms from the לִי stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned § 85, V, 11, like בָּכַח etc. as well as שָׁוִי (employing the original ו as auxiliary vowel), there are found *a*) from the groundform קָטַל nearly everywhere forms like מְרִינֹת *springs*, מְרִינֹת *bucks* etc.; in *pause* מְרִינֹת, מְרִינֹת, on the other hand מְרִינֹת Judg. 14, 18; with suffixes מְרִינֹת (weakened from *pāryō*) however also מְרִינֹת etc.; before grave suffix מְרִינֹת, but also מְרִינֹת. *Plur.* מְרִינֹת (*constr.* מְרִינֹת v. above No. 2 מְרִינֹת and מְרִינֹת; with softening of the ו into א: מְרִינֹת from מְרִינֹת, מְרִינֹת; *b*) from the groundform קָטַל half, in *pause* מְרִינֹת, with suffix מְרִינֹת etc. Probably belongs here also מְרִינֹת *time* (properly *idy*, then with rejection of *Yōdh* and ה *fem.* מְרִינֹת, finally

with assimilation of $\text{ע}=\text{ר}$, with suff. עָרוֹ , plur. עָרוֹת . With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like אָר (from $\text{'awy}=\text{אָרִי}$), plur. אָרִים etc.; c) from the groundform קָטַל partly forms like בָּרוֹ (from būhw , būhw), partly like חָלִי , עָרִי , and also without initial guttural אָרִי (also אָרִי Gen. 37, 25), רָאִי etc.; in *pause* חָלִי etc., with suffix חָלִיִּי , plur. חָלִיִּים .

7. To paradigms *l—n*, Segholate forms from stems ע"ע (v. § 85, II, 11). a) In the *qatl* form the ā of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in יָם (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination יָם-סֵף a *weedy-sea*; even before *Māqqēph*: יָם-הַמֶּלַח a *salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghēsh f. implic.* e. g. מֶרְסֵל *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations have *Qāmēṣ* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. הָעַם). In the *constr. state* חַיִּי *life*, and הַיִּי *sufficiency* are contracted into חַי , הַי . הַרְרִי *mountainwards* Gen. 14, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a *directive* (also הַרְרִי). However forms like חַי may possibly be derived from the groundform חַיִּי , especially as there is also found חַיִּי Jer. 17, 3 (v. *Parad.* II). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of ā into ī , e. g. עָרִים , עָרִי etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. חַיִּים Gen. 14, 6 *Plur. constr.* חַיִּיִּים ; עָרִים Neh. 9, 22, Judges 5, 14, עָרִיִּים Neh. 9, 24 (elsewhere עָרִים , עָרִי); b) *qūl*-forms: אֵש , אֵל *fire*, חֵן *favor* etc.; c) *qūl*-forms: כֹּל , חֹק *totality*, before *Māqqēph* חֹק־כֹּל , with suff. חֹקִי etc., the *Dāghēsh f.* falling out (according to § 20, 3, b) also חֹקִי etc.; with *strength* even עָז etc. also עָזִי .

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nūn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l—n* e. g. אַף *wrath* (אַפִּי *Dual* אַפִּיִּים for *'anp*; עֵז *goat* עֵזִים (for *'inz*).

2. *Paradigm. II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, 1, 2, 12 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qāḏāl*. The lengthening of ā into ā is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with ל"א -forms e. g. אָרְמִי *army*, אָרְמִי . For the construct forms חֵלֶב *milk* and לָבָן *white* Gen. 49, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes חֵלֶב , לָבָן , a secondary form חֵלֶב־ , לָבָן־ . Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. חֲמֹלִים *camels*, חֲמֹלִים *small ones*, חֲמֹלִים *brooks*.—The weakening of the ā of the first syllable into ī does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. זָנָבִים *tails*, זָנָבִים *wings*, from זָנָב , זָנָבִים .—The *Dual* חַיִּיִּים from חַיִּי *stream*, shows an abnormal remainder of the ā before an accented ending.

From ע"י stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like פָּרִי (*Part.*

Qāl, **high** with unchangeable *Qāmēṣ*.—In the **ע"ז** the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e. g. **חָלַל** etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like **לָל** *low*, **לָל** *light*, etc. (for **לָלָל**). Their inflection follows naturally *Parad. I, l*. Under the influence of a guttural arise forms like **רָע**, **רָעִים**, **רָעִי** (for **רָעִים** etc.). On **הָר** *mountain*, comp. above *I, Rem. 7*.

The few nouns of the groundform *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as **שָׁכַר** *heart*, **שָׁכַר** *strong drink*, **עֵנָב** *grape* etc. For **שֵׁשֶׁר** *hair* is found besides **שֵׁשֶׁר** also the *constr. state* **שֵׁשֶׁר** (having been treated as a Segholate form); for **צִלָּה** *rib* is also found **צִלָּה** and even **צִלָּה** *2 Sam. 18, 13*, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for **צִלָּה**; comp. also **צִלָּה** and **צִלָּה**, as well as the *constr. state plur.* **צִלָּה**; also of **נֶכֶד** *strangeness* stands *Deut. 31, 16* the *constr. state* **נֶכֶד־**.

2. To *paradigms c—e*, groundform *qāṭāl*. Here the shortening of the *ē* of the second syllable into *ā* in the *constr. state*, is quite peculiar (except with **לָל**, e. g. **מָלָא** *full*, **מָלָא**; comp. however also **עָקַב** *Gen. 25, 26* from **עָקַב** *heel* and **אָבֵל** *Ps. 35, 14* *mourning*), e. g. **חָסֵר**, **חָסֵר**, **חָסֵר** etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word **קָרָה** as if it were a segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v. *Parad. I Rem. 4*) or in other words they convert it into a real segholate; in the same way are formed **גָּרָה**, **גָּרָה** from **גָּרָה** *wall*, **גָּרָה** *thigh*.—In the *plur. constr.* the *ē*, lengthened from *ī*, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e. g. **שָׁמַר**, **שָׁמַר**, **שָׁמַר**; comp. also **יָרָה** (under the protection of the secondary tone) from **יָרָה** *nail*.—From **ע"ז** stems come forms like **מָוֵת** *dead person* (from *māwīt*), **נָר** *stranger*, **עֵד** *witness* with unchangeable *Sērē*, thus **מָרִי**, **מָרִי** etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qāṭāl*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qāṭōl*, e. g. **עָגֹל** *round*, **עָמַק** *deep*, **עָרֹם** *red*; on the other hand before affirmatives the *ū* comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as **עָגֹלִים** etc.

3. To *paradigm f*, groundform *qāṭāl* from **לָיִח** stems. With **שָׁדָה** is also found the form **שָׁדָה**, preserving the final *Yôdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing *ī* is preserved in **שָׁדָה** *sufferers*, *constr.* **שָׁדָה**. The plural of **שָׁדָה** is **שָׁדָה**, *constr.* **שָׁדָה** (also **שָׁדָה**). Also the word **פָּנִים** *face*, **פָּנִי**, **פָּנִי** etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state*; thus in **יָד** *hand* (for **יָדָה**), *constr.* **יָד**, with *suff.* **יָדִי**, but **יָדָה**, *plur.* **יָדָה**, *constr.* **יָדָה**, *Dual* **יָדָה**, with *suff.* **יָדָה** etc.; in the same way **דָּם** *blood* (for **דָּמָה**), *constr.* **דָּם**, with *suff.* **דָּמִי**, but **דָּמָה** (*d* weakened into *ī*, *plur.* **דָּמִים**, **דָּמִי**).

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well in as *before* the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (*parad. a*, to which also examples like *אֲרוֹנִים wheels*, for *אֲרוֹנִים* must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh'wâ, even *before* the accent (*parad. b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms *ל"ה* which belong here (*parad. c*).

Rem. 1. In the category of *עֵלִים* (which however has been modified from *'āldm*) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 84: No. 14 *מִקְשֵׁל* with the only difference that the *ל"ה* of this form maintain the *Qāmēs* in the inflection, e. g. *מִקְשֵׁל plur. constr. מִקְשֵׁי*; No. 15 *שִׁלְתָּן table (plur. שִׁלְתָּנוֹ constr. שִׁלְתָּנוֹ plur. constr. שִׁלְתָּנוֹ)*, therefore in *constr. plur.* with suffix *קִרְבָּנִים Lev. 7, 38*; No. 17 *נִקְשֵׁל plur. constr. שִׁלְתָּנוֹ* (with the doubling of the final consonant for *קִרְבָּנִים*, compare also *קִרְבָּנִים*); § 85, I, No. 14 *מִקְשֵׁל*; II, No. 14 *מִקְשֵׁל*, where the *ā* of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. *מִקְשֵׁל מִקְשֵׁל*; III, No. 14 *מִקְשֵׁל* etc.; No. 27 *מִקְשֵׁל*.

2. (*Paradigm b*.) Instead of the shortening of the *ē* into the original *i* in forms like *אֱלֹהִים* it is more frequently shortened into *ē*, e. g. *אֱלֹהֵי thy creator*, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like *אֱלֹהֵי* sometimes like *אֱלֹהֵי*. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84, I, No. 3; No. 9 *מִקְשֵׁל* etc. (however there are exceptions, as *אֱלֹהֵי*), No. 85 *מִקְשֵׁל*; III, No. 14 *מִקְשֵׁל*; VI, No. 2 *מִקְשֵׁל*; but also here are found exceptions like *מִקְשֵׁל* Ps. 28, 12.

3. (*Paradigm c, Part. Qāl* of verbs *ל"ה*, differing from *Parad. II, f*. by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The *ל"ה* forms of § 85, V, No. 14 and 4 belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original *āy* of the ending has been contracted into *ē*, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the *plural suffix*; as *מִקְשֵׁל their appearance* Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21 (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4 are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending *āy* has come back again in *מִקְשֵׁל* Is. 25, 6 (*Part. Pu.* from *מִקְשֵׁל*).

4. *Paradigm IV* comprises forms with a changeable (*a, b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With *Parad. c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like **קָרַב**) not submit to any flexional changes.

Rem. 1. Analogous with **קָרַב** (Groundform *pāqūd*) are: § 84, I, No. 8 **קָרַל** etc. (with *ō*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like **שָׁלוֹם** the *ō* has been inflected from *ā* (arab. *sālām*); No. 5 **אָסִיר**, **אָסִיר** etc.; II, No. 15 **זָכָר**, **זָכָר**, *constr.* **זָכָר**; IV, No. 35 **חָלֵמִישׁ**, *constr.* **חָלֵמִישׁ**; § 85, IV, No. 14 **בָּקִים** etc.; V, No. 15 **בָּקִים**, *constr.* **בָּקִים**.

2. **קָרַב** (groundform *'anāy*, stem **קָרַב**) represents forms in which the closing *Yōdh* has been blended in *i*; before formative additions the *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dāghē'sh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes; comp. § 85, V. No. 5 **נָקִי**, *Plur.* **נָקִים**.

3. **קָרַב** with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable whilst the *Sh'wā* comes from a short vowel (arab. *kūtāb*); *constr. state* **קָרַב** Esth. 4, 8 (readings like **קָרַב** Esth. 1, 4, **קָרַב** 4, 8, 2 Ch. 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, II, No. 13; in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 84, I, No. 6 (**קָטַל**, comp. however the anomalies mentioned there), No. 7, 8, partly II, No. 15, and III, No. 23; IV, No. 26, 27, 32, 33; § 85, IV, 27, 31; V, 27.—In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form **קָטַל** (v. above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent); comp. above No. 2, Rem. 2 and No. 3 Rem. 3, as well as, of the form **קָטַל** (really *qāṭil*) the examples **קָטַל**, **קָטַל**, whilst the *constr. state sing.* reduces according to the rule the *ā* into *Sh'wā* **קָטַל** and **קָטַל**. (Forms like **קָטַל** *tyrant*, for **קָטַל**, therefore with unchangeable *Qāmēṣ*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms **קָטַל** (*qāṭil*) belong here **קָטַל** *week, plur.* **קָטַל** and **קָטַל**, *constr. state*, but with *Methēg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last: **קָטַל**.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending **ה**— appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (v. § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), a) **מַלְכָּה** *queen*,

חֲזָקָה and with the weakening of *ā* into *i* חֲזָקָה *lamb*, חֲזָקָה *strength* (if not belonging to parad. *b*); *b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of ל"ה stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲרֵנָה *grace, delight* (עֲרֵן); *c*) חֲלָה proper noun (חֲלָה *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); *d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); *e*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִרָה *purity* (טָהַר); *f*) עֲוִלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה parad. *i*); *g*) צִידָה *game* (contracted from צִיד, therefore really parad. *i*); *h*) בִּינָה *intellect*, סִנְפָה *tempest*; *i*) אֲלִיָּה *fat sheep* (as of אָלִי, שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* weakened into *i*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לֵיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qill* form); *k*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (weakened from מִדָּה); *l*) זָמָה *plan*; *m*) חֻקָּה *law* (חָק).

Parad. II. Groundform *qāṭālāt* etc. *a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; *c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; *e*) יָעִיָּה *languid*; *f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"ע arise thus *a*) רַבָּה *many*, with middle gutturals רַעָה *bad*; from ע"ז *זָרָה* *stranger*; *c*) עֲרָה (ground form 'āwīd) *female witness*; from stems middle *o* טוֹבָה *good*. From the ground form *qāṭūl* עֲמָקָה *deep* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבָדָה *servitude*.

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); *b*) יָלְדָה *puerpera*, but also with reduction of the *ē* (originally *i*) into *Sh'wā* יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); *c*) גּוֹלָה *emigrating host* (masc. גּוֹלֵה), but also with the retention of the final *Yōdh* בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lament. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); *a*) גְּדֻלָּה *great*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, really *pious*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, really *L. sejuncta*; *b*) עֲנִיָּה *wretched*.

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun, comp. however forms like בְּכִיָּה *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי § 93, I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant*; also *fem.* participles of ל"א, as יִצְאָה, מִצְאָה, although these forms may have been contracted from יִצְאָה like segholate forms (therefore we also have מִצְאָה, as בָּאָר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, *b*), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יִלְדָּה בֵּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יִלְדָּה (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the **ת** feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, a) from **גְּבֵרָה** (masc. **גֵּבֶר** = **גֵּבֶר** § 93, I, 4, a) the form **גְּבֵרָה** *mistress*; from **מַלְכָּה** (**מֶלֶךְ** = **מֶלֶךְ**) *queen*; Parad. II, a): **יְבֵמָה** *brother-in-law*, fem. **יְבֵמָה** (from **יְבֵמָה**); c) **גִּדְרָה** *wall* **גִּדְרָה** (from **גִּדְרָה**), thus, the general form *constr. state masc.* **זָקֵן** is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand **חֲמִשָּׁה** as *constr. state of חֲמִשָּׁה* with the lengthening of the original **י** of **חֲמִשָּׁה**); of formations with changeable **ō** in the second syllable, belong here **נְחֹשֶׁת** *brass* (from **נְחֹשֶׁת**); Parad. III, a) **חֲרֻמָּה** (from **חֲרֻמָּה**) masc. **חֲרֻמָּה** *seal*; b) **יִנְקָה** (real sense, *sucking*) *off-spring*; and so mostly the feminines of the participle **קָטַל**, however also here we must admit the ground form **קָטַלָּה** (**יִנְקָה**, v. above); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. **יָדְעָה**, fem. of **יָדַע** *knowing*; in a larger sense belongs here also **גִּלְגָּלָה** *skull*, v. § 95; Parad. IV, c) **כְּתוּבָה** *scripture*, modified from *k'thāb* § 93, Parad. IV, c.

As to the ending **ת** and **ית** v. § 84, No. 16 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the **ā** of the ending **ת** becomes **ā** again in the ending of the *constr. state ת*). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending **ת** e. g. **צִדְקָה**; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Sh'wā*; on the contrary the **ā** which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into **ī**, e. g. **צִדְקָה** from *šāddāqāt*; 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending **ים** — as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'měš* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'wā*, but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, *d*) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, *d*.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

I.					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מַלְכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֻקָּה	גַּבְרָת
	(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(law)	(mistress)
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכַּת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַבַּת	חֻקַּת	גַּבְרַת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גַּבְרָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתְכֶם	חֲרַפָּתְכֶם	חֲרַבָּתְכֶם	חֻקָּתְכֶם	גַּבְרָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חֻקוֹת	
" <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי	חֲרָפוֹתִי	חֲרָבוֹתִי	חֻקוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רִקְמָתַיִם			מַצְלָתַיִם
		(double embroidery)			(cymbals)

II.			III.	
	a.	b.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	צִדְקָה	זַעֲקָה	יֹדְקָה	גִּלְגָּלָת
	(justice)	(outcry)	(sprout)	(skull)
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקַת	זַעֲקַת	יֹדְקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	צִדְקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	יֹדְקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	צִדְקָתְכֶם	זַעֲקָתְכֶם	יֹדְקָתְכֶם	גִּלְגָּלָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		יֹדְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>constr.</i>	צִדְקוֹת		יֹדְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
" <i>with suff.</i>	צִדְקוֹתִי		יֹדְקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absol.</i>		שְׁפָתַיִם		[נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם]
		(lips)		(pair of fetters)
" <i>constr.</i>		שְׁפָתַי		

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. *Parad. I* (feminine of Segholate forms). *a*) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גִּבְעָה towards *Gib'ā* (masc. גִּבְעָה). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qāṭl* or *qāṭl* e. g. הִקְחָה *strength* (comp. הִקְחָה under *b*). A dual of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתָם *seven times* (comp. שִׁבְעָה *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as דִּבְשָׁה (§ 93, I, Rem. 4) there is found הִדְשָׁה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form מִלִּי (לִי) comp. § 93 I, *k* rise feminines, partly like מִלִּי, גִּבְעָה, שִׁבְעָה (v. above § 94, 1, I, *k*) partly like בִּכְרִי (§ 94, 2); sometimes the closing ה before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. הִקְחָה *lances*. Forms like מִלִּי (comp. מִלִּי as a *qāṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms מִלִּי *kid*, מִלִּי *ship*.—*b*) An example of מִלִּי is מִלִּי *wheat* (for מִלִּי), plur. מִלִּי; analogous with מִלִּי (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, *b*) are forms מִלִּי *pond* (with unchangeable *Sērē*) and מִלִּי *request*, with suffix מִלִּי, but also מִלִּי (= מִלִּי) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on מִלִּי etc. comp. below letter *e*);—*c*) the plural absol. of מִלִּי *prepouce* is מִלִּי (comp. מִלִּי § 93, *Parad. I, f*) construct מִלִּי.—*d*). As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem מִלִּי (groundform *qāṭl*, like מִלִּי of the form *qāṭl*, מִלִּי of the *qāṭl* form) with ו for ו, is found מִלִּי *fright* Is. 19, 17 (aram. orthog. for מִלִּי).—*e*) Segholate forms with ה fem. In the *Parad. I* (v. § 94, 2, I, *a*) the *d* of the groundform מִלִּי has been sharpened into *z* before the singular suffixes. Plural would be מִלִּי.—To the same category belong infinitives of מִלִּי and מִלִּי, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as מִלִּי (from מִלִּי), מִלִּי (from מִלִּי), מִלִּי (from מִלִּי), as well as מִלִּי (from מִלִּי); comp. § 69 Rem. 4 and § 66. The infinitive of מִלִּי is however also found in the form מִלִּי, מִלִּי, מִלִּי, also מִלִּי *congregation* (from מִלִּי), מִלִּי *advice* (from מִלִּי), מִלִּי *sleep* (from מִלִּי), constr. מִלִּי, whilst in the construct forms מִלִּי *sweat* Gen. 3, 19, (from מִלִּי to flow) and מִלִּי *excrement*, Ez. 4, 12, the *Sērē* has remained firm, מִלִּי *shame* (from מִלִּי to be ashamed) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qāṭl* form of an מִלִּי stem, analogous with מִלִּי (§ 93, I, Rem. 4 *c*). Of a מִלִּי (מִלִּי) has been formed after rejection of the closing *Yōdh*, the masculine form מִלִּי and afterwards the feminine מִלִּי *door*; plur. מִלִּי, constr. מִלִּי retains however the final ה (v. above *a* מִלִּי). In a similar way has been formed מִלִּי *trough* (from מִלִּי), of which the masc. should be מִלִּי—מִלִּי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. מִלִּי Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form מִלִּי or מִלִּי.

2. *Parad. II* (groundform *qāṭlāt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad. II a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as מִלִּי, plur. מִלִּי, is found here מִלִּי *little* etc.—The constr. forms, as מִלִּי (*pid'qāth*) differ by the vocal *Sh'wā* from the Segholate forms, as מִלִּי (*kid-sāth*). Consequently the constr. state מִלִּי (מִלִּי *blessing*) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute *גִּרְדָּה*.—Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. b) the original *ā* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also *אֶרֶץ* *earth*, *אֶרֶץ*); in other places it is modified into *Seghōl*, e. g. *עֲגִלָּה* *chariot*, *עֲגִלָּהּ*. Frequently with an *absolute state* in ה— the *construct* is formed with the ending ה e. g. *קִרְיָה* *crown*, *constr.* *קִרְיָהּ* (from *קִרְיָה*); with *עֲצָרָה* *gathering* is found already in the *absolute state*; *עֲצָרָהּ* (from *רָבָם* *brother in law*) has before suffixes *רַבְמָתִי*, agreeing completely with *גִּרְדָּה* (Parad. I e)—*אֶמֶת* *fidelity*, is found from a לִין stem (*אֶמֶן*) (for *אֶמֶתִּי*—*'amant*) before suffixes *אֶמֶתִּי* etc.—From the *masculine* form *קָטַל* (*qāṭil*) are formed *גִּרְדָּה* *wall*, *נִבְלָה* *corpse*, *constr.* *נִבְלָהּ*, *בְּרִיחָה* *cattle*, *constr.* *בְּרִיחָהּ* (for *בְּרִיחָה*). More frequently however the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the ending *at* of the *constr. state*, thus from *נִבְלָה* is found once *נִבְלָהּ* Is. 26, 19 and always *נִזְלוּ* *prey*, *נִזְלוּ* *unclean*, *מָלְאִי* *full* Is. 1, 21 (with *compaginis* v. § 90, 3.—As a *dual* is found *יִרְדָּהִים* (comp. *יִרְדָּהִי* Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete *יִרְדָּה* as feminine to *יִרְדָּה*); the *constr. state* *יִרְדָּהִי* is thus to be referred to a *Segholate* form (*יִרְדָּה*, comp. *יִרְדָּה* as *constr. state* of *יִרְדָּה*).—The forms with simple *feminine* ה are not based on the groundform *qāṭil* but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92. Parad. II, c *זֶכֶן* and *זֶכֶן*); thus the feminine of *חֶבֶר* *companion* is *חֶבֶרָה*, of *חֶבֶר* besides *חֶבֶרָה* also *חֶבֶרָהּ*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭil* of stems ע"י, as *נִרְחָה*, *נִרְחָהּ* have an unchangeable *a* in the first syllable, as *נִרְחָה*, *constr. plur.* *נִרְחָהִים* *double height*. From *נִרְחָה* *mount*, (stem *בָּהֵם*, therefore with unchangeable *ā* in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state plur.* the pleonastic form *בְּמוֹתָי* or *defectively* *בְּמוֹתָי* (v. § 87, Rem. 1); the *Massōrā* demands for this everywhere *בְּמוֹתָי*, which must be read *bāmōthē* (not *bōmōthē*) with the anomalous reduction of the *ō* into (—); before suffix however *בְּמוֹתָי* etc.—Besides the forms with the ending ה— are found also such with ה; thus with the shortening of *ā* into *ā* are formed *Segholates*, like *נִרְחָה* (*masculine* *נִרְחָה*) *rest*, *נִרְחָהּ* *pit*, from *נִרְחָה* and *נִרְחָהּ*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭil* of stems ע"י, as *נִרְחָה*, as well as those of the form *qāṭil* of ע"י, like *נִרְחָה* *mortua*, *נִרְחָה* *fem. witness* (from *רָבָה*, *מִידָה*, *עִידָה*) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form *qāṭil*, as *נִרְחָה* (*masculine* *נִרְחָה*) maintains in all cases the original *ā* by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the *fem.* ה are formed *Segholates* like *נִרְחָה*, before *Suff.* *נִרְחָהִים* etc. *Dual* *נִרְחָהִים* (placed in the Parad. III, b); comp. however *נִרְחָהִים* Lament. 3, 7.

A few feminines of לִין stems (Parad. II, c) are found with the ending *āth*, formed by the ejection of the closing *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and the contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the ending *āth*; thus *מִנְיָה* *share* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāvāth*, *עֲנָה* *end*, *plur.* *מִנְיָהִים* (*constr. state* Neh. 12, 47, 13, 10) and *מִנְיָהִים* (12, 44); *מִנְיָהִים* Exod. 38, 5.—*מִנְיָהִים* *sign* (stem *מִנְיָהִים*) comes from *מִנְיָהִים* and this is contracted from *āyāt*—*'āyāyāt*.

3. Parad. III; comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad.* III, and No. 2. The *dual* חִמְיָהִים instead of חִמְיָהִים *double wall* is anomalous, taken directly from the plur. חִמְיָהִים.—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the ending ה, e. g. בִּרְעָה *burning fever* (from *dallāq*) מַטְיָה *signet*; next the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 9), as אִילָה *folly* (for *iwālt*) and all the forms, which are formed with מ preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 84, No. 14), e. g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. מַמְלֶכֶת; מַטְיָה *pruning knife*, constr. מַטְיָה; מַטְיָה *reward*, before suffix מַטְיָה; comp. also the forms mentioned in § 85, III, as מַלְכָּה *birth* (of לָא, on the other hand, is מוֹצֵא *outgoing*), הוֹלָדָה *generation*, הוֹלָדָה *abomination*, constr. הוֹלָדָה etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e. g. מַחֲשָׁוָה *ploughshare*, plur. מַחֲשָׁוֹת (as from מַחֲשָׁה, *Astarte*, plur. מַחֲשָׁה (the *ā* no more being inflected into *ē*); on the contrary מַחֲשָׁה, *capitals* (of columns) and מַחֲשָׁה *reproofs* are the regular plurals of מַחֲשָׁה and מַחֲשָׁה.—In מַחֲשָׁה *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp. arab. *qūṭūn*) before suffix מַחֲשָׁה, the constr. state however is מַחֲשָׁה (as already in the *absol. state* Ex. 28, 39); plur. מַחֲשָׁה, constr. מַחֲשָׁה.—The form mentioned in *Parad.* III, בִּמְלָכָה is a *pulpul* form of the stem מַלְכָּה; comp. מַלְכָּה § 85, II.

4. To the fourth class, for which no *parad.* is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *Shewā*, through the removal of the accent (comp. however מַלְכָּה Jer. 3, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the *ā*, although the same had been only lengthened from *ā*). Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with ע"ע stems, as מַלְכָּה *scroll*, מַלְכָּה *praise*, מַלְכָּה *prayer* § 85, II, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hiph'il* ע"י, e. g. מַלְכָּה *lighting* (from מַלְכָּה), principally the feminines of ע"י stems, which are combined with *preformative* מ, as מַלְכָּה *rest* (from מַלְכָּה), v. § 85, IV, 14. Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. their enumeration § 93, *Parad.* IV, 3).

5. The feminine ending הִיא— is based (apart from the לִיָּה forms, as מַלְכָּה, § 94, 2), on the appending of the *feminine* ה to the ending הִיא, which has been employed to form adjectives etc., v. § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending הִיא mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as מַלְכָּה Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as מַלְכָּה *kingdom*; from לִיָּה stems are formed words partly like מַלְכָּה *imprisonment* partly like מַלְכָּה *weeping*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable also in the *constr. state* and before suffixes. מַלְכָּה *difficulty* is formed of a *qāṭil*-form, and מַלְכָּה of a *qāṭil*-form etc.—In the *plural* of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending **ו** is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp. above Rem. 1) e. g. **אֶלְקִינוֹר** from **אֶלְקִינוֹר**; in others this ending is dismembered, as in **מַלְכִּיּוֹת** Dan. 8, 22 (without doubt for *malchwōth*), as well as in **עֵדוֹת** (*edwōth*) from **עֵדוֹת** *witness* (only in connection with *suffixes* **עֵדוֹתֶיךָ** etc.).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM.

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אָב (for **אָבָה**, from **אָבָה** prob. *to procreate*, hence **אָב** prop. *pro-creator*) *father*, constr. *st.* **אָבִי**, with suff. **אָבִי** (*my father*), **אָבִיךָ**, or **אָבִיךָ**, **אָבִיכֶם**, **אָבִיכֶם**; plur. **אָבוֹת** (§ 87, 4) constr. **אָבוֹת**. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity; comp. § 108, 2, *b*.

אָח *brother*, (for **אָחוֹת**, fr. **אָחוֹת**) constr. **אָחִי**, with suff. **אָחִי** (*my brother*), **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחִיכֶם**, plur. constr. **אָחִי**. But the *plur. absol.* is **אָחִים** (with *Däg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1); hence **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחִיכֶם**, etc. On the form **אָחִי** (which is invariably used instead of **אָחִי**), see § 27, Rem. 2, *b*, and so too **אָחִי** in *pause* for **אָחִי** *my brethren*. The doubling of the **ח** points by no means to another stem (**אָחוֹת**) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding *Päthäch* short, as in **נָקִלִים** etc. (§ 93, Parad. II, *a*).

אֶחָד *one* (for **אֶחָד**, with *Däg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*), constr. *st.* and also elsewhere in close connection **אֶחָד**, *fem.* **אֶחָדָה** (for **אֶחָדָה**, see § 19, 2), in *pause* **אֶחָדָה**. In one instance (Ez. 33, 30) it takes (by *apheresis*, § 19, 3) the form **אֶחָדָה** *masc.*, as in *Aram*. Plur. **אֶחָדִים** *some*, but also *the same*.

אָחוֹת *sister* (from *'ächwät* or *'ächdyät* with the elision of the *i* or *y* and the modifying of the *ä*—arisen from *ä*—into *ö*), constr. **אָחוֹת**, with suff. **אָחוֹתִי** etc.; however see Num. 6, 7 **אָחוֹתִי** (with *Dagh. f. implic.* in *ח*). The *plur. absol.* (**אָחוֹתִים**) accidentally does not occur, but the *constr. with suff.* is found in **אָחוֹתִי** etc. (Ez. 16, 52, **אָחוֹתִיךָ** for **אָחוֹתִיךָ**). The forms **אָחוֹתִי** Jos. 2, 13 *Kethibh*, **אָחוֹתִיךָ** Ez. 16, 51, 55, 61, **אָחוֹתִיכֶם** Hos. 2, 3 come from a singular **אָחוֹת** (with rejected third consonant).

אִישׁ *man*, either incorrectly lengthened from **אִישׁ** (from **אִישׁ** with the assimilation of the *Nûn* of the groundform **אִישׁ** (stem **אִישׁ**) which has again been attenuated from **אִישׁ**) or a direct softening from **אִישׁ**; in the *plur.* it has very seldom **אִישִׁים** (Is. 58, 3, Ps. 141, 4, Prov. 8, 3), the usual form being **אֲנָשִׁים** (from **אִישׁ**), *constr.* **אֲנָשִׁי**. *Comp.* **אֲנָשִׁי**.

אֲמָה *maid-servant*, with *suff.* **אֲמָהָה**, *plur.* (with **ה** as a consonant) **אֲמָהוֹת**, *constr.* **אֲמָהוֹת**. *Comp.* in *Aram.* **אֲבָהָה** *fathers*, also *Arab.* **abahât** (*fathers*), **ummahât** (*mothers*).

אִשָּׁה *woman* (for **אִשָּׁה**, *fem.* from **אִשָּׁה**, see **אִשָּׁה**), *constr. st.* **אִשָּׁה** (for **אִשָּׁה** with **ה** *fem.* from **אִשָּׁה** after rejection of *Dāghēsh* and lengthening the *î* into *ē*; *comp.* **חֲמִשָּׁה** as *constr.* of **חֲמִשָּׁה** *five*; but a direct derivation from **אִשָּׁה** would also be possible, the *î* having been reduced to *ē*); with *suff.* **אִשָּׁהּ**, *plur.* **אִשָּׁהּ** (shortened from **אִשָּׁהּ**), but Ez. 28, 44 **אִשָּׁהּ**, *constr.* **אִשָּׁהּ**, with *suff.* **אִשָּׁהּ**.

בֵּית *house*, *constr. st.* **בֵּית**, *plur.* **בָּתִּים** *bâtîm* or rather *bâtîm*, for the *Dāg. forte* (after firm *Methēgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from **בָּתִּים** *staying over night* (*Part. Qāl* of **בָּתִּים**); the former habitual reading *bâtîm* is therefore not at all justified. *Comp.* Gesenius' *Lex.* 8th ed. under **בֵּית**. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading *bâtîm*.—*Constr. st.* **בָּתִּי**, with *suff.* **בָּתִּי**.

בֵּן *son* (from *bīny* for *bāny*=**בָּנוּ** from **בָּנוּ** to *build*), *constr. st.* **בֵּן**, seldom **בֶּן**, once **בֶּנִי** (§ 90, 3, a) Gen. 49, 11, and **בְּנֵי** (§ 90, 3, b) Num. 28, 18, 24, 3, 15. With *suff.* **בְּנֵי**, *plur.* **בְּנֵי**, *constr. st.* **בְּנֵי**, with *suff.* **בְּנֵי**.

בַּת *daughter* (from **בָּתִּי**=**בָּתִּי** *fem.* of **בָּן**, *comp.* § 19, 2), with *suff.* **בָּתִּי** (for **בָּתִּי**=**בָּתִּי**); *plur.* **בָּתִּים** (comp. **בָּתִּים** *sons* from a sing. **בָּתִּי**), *constr. st.* **בָּתִּי**.

חָם *father-in-law*, with *suff.* **חָמִיךָ**; and **חָמָה** *mother-in-law* with *suff.* **חָמָהּ**. Compare **אָב** *father*, **אָח** *brother*, **אָחָה** *sister*.

יּוֹם *day*, (*Arab.* *yaum*) *dual* **יּוֹמִים**; but *plur.* **יּוֹמִים** (from **יּוֹמִים** with elision of *y*) *constr.* **יּוֹמִי** and **יּוֹמָה** (Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15).

כֶּלִי *vessel*, from **כָּלַה** to *hold*, *plur.* **כֶּלִים** (as if from **כָּל**, *constr.* **כֶּלִי**, with *suff.* **כֶּלִי**).

מַיִם (*plur.*) *water* (*comp.* § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* **מַיִ**, but also doubled **מַיִמִּי**, with *suff.* **מַיִמִּי**.

עִיר *city*, *plur.* **עָרִים**, *constr. st.* **עָרִי** (either syncopated from **עָרִים** (v. Judges 10, 4) or from a kindred sing. **עָר**, which is still found in proper names).

פֶּה *mouth*, acc. to *Gesen.* for **פֶּה**, from **פָּה** to *breathe*. It may however be derived from an original **פִּי** (*Olsh.*) for **פִּי**, of a stem **פָּה** or **פִּי**. In

this case the *constr.* פִּי would be contracted from *פִּי* or *פִּי* (with *Chî'rêq compag.*); comp. אֶבֶר from אֶבֶר for אֶבֶר, with *suff.* פִּי (for *piy, my mouth*), פִּי, פִּי or פִּי, פִּי, פִּי, פִּי, פִּי; *plur.* פִּי *edges* 1 Sam. 18, 21 (= פִּי) and פִּי (Prov. 5, 4).

רֶאשׁ *head* (derived from רֶאשׁ = רֶאשׁ), *plur.* רֶאשִׁים (for רֶאשִׁים, § 23, 2), *constr. st.* רֶאשִׁי, with *suff.* רֶאשִׁי etc., but Is. 15, 2 רֶאשִׁי.

שָׁמַיִם *plur. heaven* (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr.* שָׁמַיִם.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad, decate*, *πεντάς*, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias filiorum*. However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias sc. filii*, and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד *one*, fem. אַחַד (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus* are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

	<i>With the Masculine.</i>		<i>With the Feminine.</i>	
	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָד
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִם ¹	שְׁנַיִם
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁה
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁה
6.	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה
9.	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעָה
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשֶׂר ²

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns³; e. g. יָמֵי שְׁלֹשָׁה נְשִׁים Gen. 7, 13, Ez. 7, 2 (in K'thibh), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23.

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִם, which would be the regular *fem.* form for שְׁנַיִם. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghēsh* in שְׁנַיִם etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghēsh fortē*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁנַיִם (comp. Arab. *šintani*). We rather have to read *štayim*, *štē* (with *Dāghēsh lene*=שְׁנַיִם or שְׁנַיִם with א prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. *'itnātāni*, another *fem.* form to *'itnāni*, duo.

² The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: אֶחָד, Sansk. *ēka*; שְׁנַיִם (Aram. שְׁנַיִם) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo*; שְׁלֹשָׁה (Aram. תְּלַח) Sansk. *tri*, *τρεις*, *tres*; חֲמִשָּׁה Sansk. *pañcan*, *πέντε*; שֵׁשׁ (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show=שֵׁשׁ, *grdf. šidš*) Sansk. *śaśh*, *ξξ*, *sex*; שִׁבְעָה Sansk. *saptan*, *ἑπτά*, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus אֶחָד (Arab. also *wāchid*) from the stem וחד, Hebr. יָחַד *to be united*; שְׁנַיִם from שָׁנַה *to fold* hence *double*, i. e. *two folds*; אַרְבָּע from רָבַע *to lie down* (by folding the four paws); חֲמִשָּׁה, really the contraction of the five fingers into the fist, from חָמַשׁ; finally עֶשֶׂר from אָסַר *to bind together*=a connection (comp. קָשַׁר).

³ In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עָשָׂר *masc.*, עֶשְׂרָה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אָחַד and אֶחָד in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁה etc. are excluded from the combinations with עָשָׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ם in שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם). In שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Q'ri perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי for the really intended שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
11.	{ אָחַד עָשָׂר אֶחָד עָשָׂר ¹	{ אֶחָד עֶשְׂרָה עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרָה
12.	{ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	{ שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרָה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרָה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרָה

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 120, 2 Rem.

also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplatives (Gen. 4, 15, 24).

¹ The enigmatic עֶשְׂרֵי has been lately found in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. Schröder in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff.). According to this עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ἑνδεκά*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *ichit* (אֶחָד) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עֶשְׂרֵי

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as in *חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר fifteen* Judg. 8, 10, 2 Sam. 19, 18, *שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר eighteen* Judg. 20, 25.

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as *שְׁלֹשִׁים 30*, *אַרְבָּעִים 40*, *חֲמִשִּׁים 50*, *שֵׁשִׁים 60*, *שִׁבְעִים 70*, *שְׁמֹנִים 80*, *תְּשַׁעִים 90*. But *twenty* is expressed by *עֶשְׂרִים*, plur. of *עָשָׂר ten*.¹ They are of *common gender*, and do not admit the *construct state*. When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty*, as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. 12, 28, 18, 5. The conjunction (וְ *and*, also וְ before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, וְ before —, וְ before *Sh'wā*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

100	מֵאוֹת <i>fem., constr. מֵאוֹת, plur. מֵאוֹת hundreds.</i>
200	מֵאוֹתַיִם <i>dual (for מֵאוֹתַיִם).</i>
300	שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת (2 K. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in <i>Kethibh</i> רִמְאִיּוֹת).
400	אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc.
1000	אַלְפֵי, <i>masc. plur. אַלְפִים thousands.</i>
2000	אַלְפִים (<i>dual</i>).
3000	שְׁלֹשָׁת אַלְפִים, 4000 אַרְבַּעַת אַלְפִים, etc.
10000	{ רִבְבָּה, but in later books (Ezr. 2, 64, Jon. 4, 11). רִבּוֹ, רִבּוּא, רִבּוֹת (prop. <i>multitude</i> , cf. <i>μυρία</i>).
20000	רִבְבָּתַיִם ² (<i>dual</i>) Ps. 68, 18, also שְׁתֵּי רִבּוֹת Neh. 7, 71.
40000	אַרְבַּע רִבּוֹת, Ezr. 2, 64.
60000	שֵׁשׁ רִבּוֹת Ez. 2, 69 (perh. f. רִבּוֹת, as Dan. 11, 12).

has been preserved in עֲשָׂה *work of art* and עֲשָׂה *thought, opinion*. These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for עֲשָׂה the idea of *unio, unity*.

¹ The anomalous plural forms עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, שְׁמֹנִים, from the 8^gholates עָשָׂר, שֵׁשֶׁ, שִׁבְעָה, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, שְׁמֹנִים, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in עֲשָׂרִים *mulberry-trees* and רֵחִים *viscera* from רֵחַ.

² Acc. to Delitzsch (Comm. on Ps. 68, 18) this "is a dual from רִבּוֹת, and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in ארבע־פָּעִימָה *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שֶׁבַּע־פָּעִימָה *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֵלֶּיךָ [comp. Ger. *cinige*, W. *ychedig*] *some, a few*, also *the same* (*idem*), and in עֶשְׂרִים *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffices* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלֹשָׁתָּךְ *you three*, prop. *your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination ׀ (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another ׀ also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי and שְׁשִׁי, חֲמִישִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, עֲשָׂרִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עֲשָׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון *ראש* for ראשון, from ראש *head, beginning*, with the ending ׀ (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending ׀, more rarely ׀, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as חֲמִישִׁית *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשָׂרִית *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like חֲמִישִׁת *fifth part*, רְבִיעִת and רְבִיעִת *fourth part*; they are abstracts derived from cardinals.

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 120.

this is either an abstract noun equivalent to רִבְיָא (from which comes the apoc. רִבּוֹ=רִבּוֹ) *a myriad*, consequently רִבְיָא *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רִבְיָא Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as *Peroune* suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as הַדְּמוּתִים *the double line of walls*, הַדְּמוּתִים *the double series of planks of a ship*.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV. THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (aside from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, and the Eng. *except, instead, away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—*a*) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like עַד by day, from עַד (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—*b*) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπό, *ab*, *a*; ἐξ, *ex*, *e*; ἀδ, *ad*, Fr. *à*; αὐτ, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; super, Ital. *su*.¹

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one words, e. g. German *swar* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, δηλαδή, Fr. *peut-être*, E. *prithce* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iù* (*to give*), employed as a sign of the dative; *i* (*to make use of*), hence *for*; *nēi* (*the interior*), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix ל from אל (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramæan, and all the Semitic dialects, such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus אָשֶׁר was shortened into אֵשׁ in Phoen., and in Hebr. to שֶׁ, שֵׁ and even שְׁ, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins; the יִי of the Biblical Aram. at a later period became י; in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâlwaqt*, *lêsh* (why?) from *li-ayyi-shaiin*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition*: as in מַה־יָדוּעַ (for מַה־יָדוּעַ *what known?* τί μαθών;) *wherefore?* בְּלֶעָרִי (from בָּל and עָרִי) *besides*; מִלְּמַעְלָה (from מִן, מֶלֶךְ, מֵעַלָּה) *from above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one; as גִּירָע־לֵבָן, אִם־יֵי, אֶת־יֵי, אֶת־יֵי־בֶן.

§ 100.

ADVERBS.

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative לֹא *not*, and some particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially*, are—

a) Substantives with prepositions, as בְּמַאֲדָה (prop. *in strength*) *very, greatly*; לְבַד (prop. *in separation* Fr. *à part*)

- E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבֵּית (prop. *from house*) *within*; כָּאֶחָד (prop. *as one*) *together*.
- b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. ἄρχην, δωρεάν), as מָאָד (*strength*) *very, greatly*; אָס (cessation) *no more*; הַיּוֹם (*this day*) *to-day*; יַחַד (union) *together*. Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סְבִיב and in plur. form סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת (circuit), as adv. *around*; others not at all, as כָּבֵר (*length*) *long ago*; עוֹד (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer*.
- c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as ראשונה (primum) *at first, formerly* (often בְּרֵאשִׁית, also לְרֵאשִׁית); רַבָּה and רַבָּת (multum) *much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת (prop. mirabilibus sc. modis) *wonderfully*; יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish tongue.
- d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute*, especially in *Hiph'il*, which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 131, 2); e. g. הִרְבָּה (prop. *to do much*) *much*, לְהִרְבֶּה *in quantity* Neh.
- e) Pronouns and numerals, as זֶה (prop. *there* = *at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither*, אַחַת, שֵׁנִי, שֵׁשִׁי, מָאָל *once, twice, seven-times, 100-times*, שֵׁנִי *a second time, again* Lev. 13, 5.

See a list of the adverbs most in use, classified according to their meanings, in § 150.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable ׀ to substantives, as אֱמֶנֶם and אֱמֶנָם *truly* (from אֱמֶן *truth*); חֵנֶם (by favor) *gratis*, (from חֵן *favor*); רִיקָם (from רִיק *empty*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); מְרָאָם *for twinkling* (from מְרָאע *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly*.

The termination ׀ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סָלַל) so that ׀, ׀ are like ׀, ׀ (§ 84, No. 15), e. g. פְּדִיּוֹן and פְּדִיּוֹן *ransom*, לֹטְרוֹן; מְרָאָם (with prep.) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 20, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the ׀ is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, d), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence אֱמֶנָם like מְשִׁירִים as adv. in Ps. 50, 2, חֵנֶם like Lat. *gratis* i. e. *gratius*.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs*, having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. *אָז* *then*, *כֵּן* *so*, *אָז* *only*, *אָז* *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* *הֲ*, e. g. *הֲלֹא* *nonne?* *הֲנֹכַח* *num etiam?* This *הֲ* as well as the kindred article *הַ* (v. § 35, Rēm. 1) comes undoubtedly from *הָל*, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* *הֲ* receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Chāṭēph-pā'thāch*, as *הֲשֵׁתָהּ* *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except *הֲיִרְשָׁב* in Lev. 10, 19);—2) usually with *Pā'thāch* and *Dāghēsh fortē* (according to the original form *הָל*, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Sh'wā*, as *הֲבָרָךְ* *num in via* Ez. 30, 30, *הֲלֹכָה* Gen. 17, 17, 18, 21, 37, 32, or also with the *Pā'thāch* only, as in *הֲקָצֶה* Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38;—3) with *Pā'thāch* (and *Dāghēsh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as *הֲיָאֵלֶךְ* *shall I go?* *הֲתָחוּ* (art) *thou?* *הֲאִם* *num si*; Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read *הֲאִם* (not 'הָאִם); with *הֲאִשׁ* Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 30, 19, Eccl. 3, 21 and *Delitzsch* on the latter passage;—4) with *S'ghōl* before gutturals that have *Qā'mēṣ* or *Chāṭēph Qā'mēṣ* as *הֲאֵנִי* *num ego?* *הֲיָדָרָה* *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes*, especially those with *Nūn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. *הֲיִשְׁנִי* *he (is) existing*; *אֵינִי* *I (am) not*, *הֵינִי* *he (is) not*, *עוֹדֵנִי* *he (is) yet*, *אֵיכָּהָ* *where art thou?* *אֵיךְ* *where (is) he?* The same applies to *הִנֵּה* and *הִנֵּה* *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as *הִנֵּנִי* (in pause *הִנֵּנִי* and *הִנֵּנִי*) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), *הִנֵּה*, *הִנֵּה* *behold him*, *הִנֵּנִי* *behold us* (in pause *הִנֵּנִי* and *הִנֵּנִי*), *הִנֵּנִי*, *הִנֵּנִי*.

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

- a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state*, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τοῦτοῦ χάρις, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia*, *montis instar*); as אַחֲרֵי¹ (hinder part*) *behind, after*; אֵצֶל (side*) *close by*; בֵּין (intermediate space, midst*) *between*; בְּעֵד, בְּעֵד (interval of space) *behind, about*; זָרְחָה or with *Chireq compag.* זָרְחָה (removal, want) *besides*; עַל (purpose) *on account of*; מִלְּ (front-side, from מֵאֵל v. Ges. Lex. 8th ed.) but usually מִלְּ *before, over against*; מִן (part) *from, out of*; לְפָנֶי (what is in front) *before, over against*; עַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל (upper part*) *upon, over*; עִם (connection, from the same stem עִמָּם comes also עִמָּח, לְעִמָּח) *with*; תַּחַת (under part*) *under, in place of*.
- b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as לְפָנֶי (in the face of) *before*; לְפִי, בְּפִי (to the mouth of, i. e. *the command**) *according to*; בְּגִלְל (in the occasion of) *on account of*, לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. בְּבִלְי, בְּאֵין, בְּאֵס (with nought of) *without*; בְּעוֹד (in duration of) *during*; בְּדִי, בְּדִי (for the requirement of) *for, according to measure of*.

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section מִן *from, out of*, is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nûn*, assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghē'sh fortē* in that consonant, as in מִיַּעַר *from a forest*.

¹ In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see *W. Von Humboldt über die Kawiſprache*, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition **בְּ** is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Māqqēph*), as **בְּהַיְיָ**, also here and there before softer letters, as **בְּיָדָיו** Jer. 44, 18, **בְּיָדָיו** 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramæan); there is besides a poetical form **בְּיָדָיו** (comp. § 90, 3, a) and **בְּיָדָיו** Is. 80, 11 (comp. **בְּיָדָיו** and **בְּיָדָיו** § 103). Its form is mostly **בְּ** prefixed (as in **בְּדָמָם** from blood) by means of *Dāghēsh fortē* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Sh'wā* (according to § 20, 3, b); with a following **י** the **בְּ** is usually contracted into **בִּי** e. g. **בִּיְיָ**—**בִּיְיָ** or **בִּיְיָ**; before gutturals it becomes **בִּ** (according to § 22, 1), e. g. **בִּמְצָרִים**, **בִּמְצָרִים**; but also **בִּ** (w. *Dāgh. f. impl.*) before **ו** and **ו**, as in **בְּוֶחַי**, **בְּוֶחַי**, **בְּוֶחַי** Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before **י** (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Sh'wā*; viz.—

- בְּ** in, at, on, with,
- לְ** towards, to, for, L. ad,
- כְּ** like, as, according to.¹

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

- a) The *Sh'wā mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Sh'wā* follows. Before simple *Sh'wā* this vowel is *i*, but before *Chāfēph*, the vowel of the *Chāfēph* is taken e. g. **לְפֵרִי** for fruit, **כְּאַרְיֵה** as a lion; and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, a, e. g. **לְאַחֲרַי** for afterwards.
- b) Before the article they usually displace the **ו** and take its pointing, as **בְּגַן** for **בְּגַן** in the garden. See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.
- c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'mēz* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. *ā*, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—a) **לְ** before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as **לְתִתֵּן** for to give, **לְדַבֵּר** for to judge,

¹ Contrary to *Gesenius'* and *Böddiger's* learned derivation of **כְּ** from **כִּי**, Aram. also **כִּי** (therefore really in the house, in) or from **כִּי** between (*Ewald*), *Mühlau* and *Volk* in the 8th ed. of the *Lex.*, following *Böttcher*, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the **כְּ** (Arab. *kā*) as a softening of the Arab. *kā* (כָּ).—**כְּ** arises first from **כָּל** and more remotely from a stem which means *approinquavit, accessit* (Arab. *kalā*).—On **כְּ**, orig. a noun meaning *amount, kind (instar)* see *Lex.*

לָבִירָה *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf. (especially as its subject § 133, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr. et.* as in אֲנִי בְּיָמָיו Num. 8, 19, לָבִירָה Gen. 16, 3;—β) before many pronominal forms, בָּנוּ, לָנוּ, בָּרוּךְ, בְּרָכָה *like these*, but specially always בָּכֶם, לָכֶם, עִתָּהּ, בְּהֵם, עִתָּהּ (see § 103, 2);—γ) לָ before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. מִן לָפִי *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, מִן לָיִם בֵּין מַיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause observe in the instructive example in Deut. 17, 8 that the punctuation לָ requires at least the small pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לָ stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as לְעֵד *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטְחוֹ *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to perpetuity*, but לְנֶצַח לְנֶצַח *to all eternity* Is. 34, 10.

- d) With the interrogative מִן we have מִן בְּמִן *by what?* מִן מִן *how much?* מִן (Job 7, 20 מִן, 1 Sam. 1, 8, מִן, all *Mil'el* therefore *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ח, ע, מִן (Mil'ra') is used to avoid hiatus instead of מִן; but before the ה we find also מִן. Before non-gutturals is found מִן Ps. 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יְהוָה), but those of יְהוָה (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of יְהוָה, as יְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, מִיְהוָה (because the Jews read in these cases יְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, מִיְהוָה).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as אֵצֶל (at my side) *by me*, אֵצֶל (in my proximity) *with me*, בְּתוֹכָם (in their place) *instead of them* (like L. *mea causa, on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition כִּי *near, with* (from כִּי v. Lex. s. v. כִּי II.), is distinguished from כִּי (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making כִּי, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, while the latter retains its original *o* before the so-called light suffixes as כִּי *me*, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל *her*; אֵצֶל *us*, but אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל *you*, אֵצֶל and אֵצֶל *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this כִּי *with* is at times incorrectly inflected אֵצֶל, אֵצֶל.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (st. עִם) takes Qā'māq (pretonic) before

כִּם and כִּי, in order that the doubling of the *Mēm* may be distinctly heard, as in עָבָדְכֶם, עָבָדְכֶם (for which however עָבָד usually stands). In the first person, besides עָבָד we find עָבָדְנִי.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as תַּחְתָּי 2 Sam. 22, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find תַּחְתִּי in Ps. 18, 37, 40, 48), תַּחְתָּי Gen. 2, 21, and תַּחְתָּי Ps. 139, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with תַּחְתָּי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction whither* is implied, so תַּחְתָּי *under-me-ward* 2 Sam. as above (also תַּחְתָּי *under me*), תַּחְתָּי *in its place* ('he put flesh in-to its place'), תַּחְתָּי *hither around me*.

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to כִּי is appended the syllable מִי, and מִן is doubled into מִמֶּן (for מִמֶּן, prop. L. *a parte*, from the side of—), and for אֶ and לֶ we have at least אֶ and לֶ with full vowel (§ 102, 2, *a* and *c*).

a) לֶ with suffixes:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. לֶ to me. | לֶ to us. |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> לֶ, לֶ, in pause לֶ } to
{ <i>f.</i> לֶ } thee. | לֶ, לֶ } to you.
[לֶ] לֶ |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> לֶ to him.
{ <i>f.</i> לֶ to her. | לֶ, לֶ, poet. לֶ } to them.
לֶ, לֶ |

¹ לֶ happens not to occur in the O. Testament.

² Even Rödiger denies altogether that לֶ may stand also for the sing. לֶ. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phoenician suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in לֶ is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in לֶ (comp. Schröder Phoniz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, Schlottmann's explanation of this לֶ). To be sure in places like Gen. 9, 26, ff. Deut. 33, 2, Is. 30, 5, Ps. 78, 10, לֶ is better explained as *plural* (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. 44, 15 and 53, 8 its explanation as plural would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain לֶ Ps. 11, 7 and לֶ as well as לֶ the latter occurring three times, Job 20, 23, 27, 23 (also לֶ) and especially 22, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetic artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (= לֶ, לֶ, לֶ).

³ The form לֶ usually signifies *therefore*.

ק takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּרָם, בְּרָמָה, also בָּם and the fem. בְּרָהֶן also 15 times בְּרָהֶן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38. 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בְּרָהֶן.

b) ק with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. קְמוֹנִי ¹ as I.	קְמוֹנֵי as we.
2. {m. קְמוֹדָה as thou. f. — }	{קְמוֹדָם, seldom קְמוֹדָם } as ye.
3. {m. קְמוֹדָהּ as he. f. קְמוֹדָהּ as she.	{קְמוֹדָם [קְרוֹם] as they. [קְרוֹהֶן]

c) מן with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. מִפְּנֵי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מִפְּנֵי from me.	מִפְּנֵי from us.
2. {m. מִפְּנֵי, in p. מִפְּנֵי } from thee. f. מִפְּנֵי }	{מִכֶּם } from you. [מִכֶּן]
3. {m. מִפְּנֵי, poet. in pause מִנִּהּ, מִנִּהּ [מִנִּהּ or מִנִּהּ] from him. f. מִפְּנֵיהָ from her.	{מִנִּהּם, מִנִּהּם, poet. מִנִּהּם } from. [מִנִּהּם] them.

Rem. The syllable מִן (in Arabic *mā* ما=Heb. מִן what) in קְמוֹנִי (prop. according to what I for as I), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes קְ, קְ, לְ, even without suffixes, so that קְמוֹנִי, קְמוֹנִי, קְמוֹנִי appear as independent words equivalent to קְ, קְ, לְ. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of מִן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form קְמוֹדָם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in pause); קְרוֹן (or קְרוֹן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. *Friendsdorff*, *Massora magna*, p. 234 ff.—For קְמוֹדָם (so formerly in this grammar) as ye, must be read קְמוֹדָם according to the express testimony of *Kimchi* (comp. also *Baer* on Job 18, 4).

The preposition מִן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with suff. makes מִנִּהּ from him, which comes from מִנִּהּ (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

¹ The use of יִ for יִ— here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). מִנִּי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with *מֵעָמָּנוּ* from us, which comes from *מֵעָמָּנוּ*.¹—The form *מֵעָמָּנוּ* always stands without *Mappi'q*, and comes from *מֵעָמָּנוּ*. The bracketed form *מֵעָמָּנוּ* for which *Baer* after *Kimchi* et al. writes *מֵעָמָּנוּ* is found only in Ps. 68, 24 and is perhaps rather a *substantive*=*share* (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—*מֵעָמָּנוּ* (in printed editions, in MSS. however *מֵעָמָּנוּ*) is found only Ez. 16, 47, 52.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 108, 2, a),² and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחֲרֵי, more frequently *אַחֲרָיו* (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind*, *after*, with suff. always thus: *אַחֲרָיו* *behind me*, *אַחֲרֶיהָ* *behind thee*, *אַחֲרֵיהֶם*, *אַחֲרֵיהֶן* etc.

אֶל, poet. also *אֵלַי* (*regions, directions*) *towards, to*, with suff. always *אֵלַי* *to me*, *אֵלֶיהָ*, *אֵלָיו*, *אֵלֵיהֶם*, *אֵלֵיהֶן* (also *defect.* *אֵלֶהֶם*), for which latter also poet. *אֵלֵיהֶם* (Ps. 2, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*, to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: *בֵּינֵי*, *בֵּינָה*, etc. (Gen. 16, 5 *בֵּינָה* but the second *Yôdh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; *בֵּינָיו* occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic *Q'rî* for *בֵּינֵי*, which is found e. g. Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. *בֵּינֵי* or *בֵּינֹתָיו*, thus *בֵּינֵיהֶם*, *בֵּינֵיהֶן*, also *בֵּינֹתָיהֶם*, *בֵּינֹתָיהֶן* (ם— also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms).

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always in the plural form, partly *masculine* *סָבִיבָהּ*, *סָבִיבָיו* etc., partly, and more frequently *feminine* *סָבִיבוֹתָהּ* *surroundings* with suff. *סָבִיבוֹתָיו* *around me*, *סָבִיבוֹתָיהָ*, *סָבִיבוֹתָיהֶם*.

¹ The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it *מֵעָמָּנוּ* from us, but Ibn Ezra justly objected.

² Some of these words, which come from stems *לָיַח*, viz., *אֵלַי*, *אֵלֶיךָ*, *אֵלָיו*, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like *אֵלַי*, *אֵלֶיךָ*, *אֵלָיו*; but the analogy of the others makes it more probable that these also should be regarded as plurals.

עַד (*progress, duration, from עדה*) as far as, unto, plur., עָדִי (poet.), but with suff. even in prose always עָדִי, עָדֶיךָ, עָדֶיהָ, עָדֶיכֶם, עָדֶיהֶם (with *Qāmeš* in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

עַל *upon, over* (constr. st. of עַל *what is above, from עָלָה to go up*), plur. עָלֵי (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, עָלֶיהָ, עָלֶיכֶם, עָלֶיהֶם, for which עָלֵימֶנּוּ is also often used in poetry. On the use of the latter in the *sing.* see above 2, a, Note ¹.

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. תַּחְתִּי, תַּחְתֶּיךָ, תַּחְתֶּיהָ, תַּחְתֶּיכֶם, תַּחְתֶּיהֶם (see בִּינְיָהֶם above).

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

a) Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

b) Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*); farther אַל (*nothing*) *that not*; כֵּן (perhaps literally *turning off, from כָּתַח*) *that not, lest* (the Greek *καὶ prohibitiveum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּשָׁרָם (in not-yet) *before that* (for which also מִשָּׁרָם). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. אֲתֵּיכֶם *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. § 155, 2.

c) Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. יָעַן אֲשֶׁר *because* (from יָעַן *account of*), prop. *on account that*, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר *after that*, כְּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (אֲשֶׁר and כִּי), עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר and עַקֵּב כִּי (*in consequence that*) *because*. The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate אֲשֶׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 132, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as **או** (prop. *will, choice*, from **אָהַב** to *desire*, comp. Prov. 31, 4) or, like Lat. *vel, ve*, from *velle*; of doubtful origin are **כִּי** *when*, also or (before the second member of a double question) **אֲדָא** *also* and others. Even the only *prefix* conjunction **וְ** (*and*) seems to have come from a stem meaning to *add or join*; comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under **וָרַ**.

NB. The pointing of the conjunction **וְ** is in many respects analogous to that of the *prefixes* **וּ**, **וַ**, **וֵ**, (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

- a) Usually it has simple *Sh'wā* (**וְ**).
- b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a *composite Sh'wā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Sh'wā* is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as **וְיָחִיבְךָ** and *be thou wise*, **וְעַבְדֶּיךָ** and *slaves*, **וְקוֹחַ** and *force*, **וְאָכַלְךָ** and *eat thou*, **וְחֲלִי** and *sickness*. But **וְאֱלֹהֶיךָ** *God*, with **וְ** is contracted into **וְאֱלֹהֶיךָ**, **וְאֱלֹהֶיךָ** etc. In cases like **וְנָצַר** Job 4, 2 comp. § 28, 2.
- c) Before words whose first consonant has simple *Sh'wā* (excepting the cases under d), *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ā*, as **וְכָל** and *to all*, and even before a *Chāfēph* (under letters not guttural), as **וְיָחִיבְךָ** Gen. 3, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. b). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under e) before its cognate labials **בּ**, **בַּ**, **בֵּ**; as **וּבְלֵיל**.
- d) Before **וְ** *Wāw* takes *Chîrēq*, as in **וְיָדִיעַ** and *he was* (for **וְיָדִיעַ**, according to § 24, 1, a); on the peculiar punctuation of **וְ** copulative before forms with initial *Sh'wā* from **וְיָדִיעַ** to *be* and **וְיָדִיעַ** to *live*, as **וְיָדִיעַ** Josh. 8, 4, **וְיָדִיעַ** Gen. 20, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.
- e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāmēṣ*, like **וְ**, **וֵ**, (§ 102, 2, c), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 (**וְיָמִינוּ** and **וְיָמִינוּ**), Ruth 3, 3 (**וְיָסֻכָּה**), Ps. 10, 15 (**וְיָרִיעַ**), 2 Sam. 13, 26 (**וְיָלֵא**), 1 Sam. 9, 4 (**וְיָאֵר**), Ez. 47, 9 (**וְיָרִיעַ**); comp. also (with *Tiphchā*) Gen. 33, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 12. Regularly the *copulative* stands with *Qāmēṣ*, when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only *one* more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the **וְ** shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. **וְיָדִיעַ**.

Gen. 1, 2, וַיֵּלֶךְ, יוֹם 8, 22 (see also examples above); וַיֵּלֶךְ Ex. 25, 3; so and so, כְּבוֹד וְעוֹ, Ps. 96, 7, 10, וַיֵּלֶךְ Ps. 78, 7; even לֹא וְשֵׁם-יְהוָה וַיֵּלֶךְ Gen. 7, 13, אֱלֹהִים וַיֵּלֶךְ 1 K. 21, 10, וַיֵּלֶךְ Esth. 1, 8 (at the end of the verse); also with 3 words as in וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּלֶךְ Is. 24, 17. It is otherwise when the word stands in close connection with the following, e. g. וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּלֶךְ Ps. 97, 5. From the same rhythmical reason the ו (not ה) stands with certain monosyllabic words, whose nature is to lean upon the following, as וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ, and others.

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אָהָה, אָה, *ah!* הוֹ, *ho!* אָהָה, *aha!* הוֹשִׁי, *hush!* But ווֹי, *woe!* is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as הִנֵּן or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); לֹא! (prop. *see*, Imp. of רָאָה); הִנֵּה, plur. הִנֵּה (prop. *give*, Imp. of יָתַב) for *come on!* *go to!* (L. *age*, *agite*); לָכֵה (also לָהּ in Judg. 19, 13), לָכֵה (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of הָלַךְ) *go to! come on!*¹ הַלְלִיכָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), בִּי (for בְּעִי *entreaty*) *I beseech, prithee!* (for *I pray thee*), נָא, *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *nā'ā*, prop. *hither*, but also *come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).²

¹ לָכֵה, הִנֵּה, and הִנֵּה stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

² The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the Imp. in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 130, 1);—*b*) after the Impf. in the first as well as in the third person (§ 127, 3, *b*, and § 128, 1);—*c*) one after the Perf. (§ 126, 4 in foot Note);—*d*) after various particles, as הִנֵּה-נָא *behold now*, particularly with conjunctions, as אֲלֵ-נָא *no! pray (ne quæso)*; אֲנִי-נָא *if now*, *if now*, *if*, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in redundancy, as in Gen. 18, 3, 19, 7, 8, 19, 50, 17.

PART THIRD.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 106.

EXPRESSION OF ADJECTIVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVES;— THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE.

In the Hebrew language, there is a want of adjectives in proportion to the substantives, and some classes of adjectives, such as those of *material*¹, are almost entirely wanting. This deficiency is supplied by substantives, especially in the following ways:—

1. The substantive expressing quality is placed in the genitive after the noun qualified. This is constantly the case in specifying the material, e. g. כֶּלִי כֶסֶף *vessels-of-silver* = *silver vessels*, אָרוֹן עֵץ *ark-of-wood* = *wooden ark*, like the Fr. *des vases d'or*; in like manner אֶחָד עוֹלָם *eternal possession* Gen. 17, 8; מְרִיב מִסָּפֶר *men-of-number* i. e. that can be numbered = *few men* Gen. 34, 30, יָבֵן יָקָר *precious stone* Prov. 17, 8. So likewise even in cases where the language had a corresponding adjective, e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *garments of holiness* = *the holy garments* Ex. 29, 29; for the use of the adjective קָדוֹשׁ is restricted

¹ A few adjectives of this kind, in the form of *passive participles*, are אֲרִיזָה (denom. from אָרַז) *of cedar*, נְחוֹשֶׁת *of copper*. On the form קָטוּל as expression of inherent qualities, v. § 50, 3, Rem. 2.

to the expression of certain combinations. Compare hence in the N. Test. ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας Luke 16, 8. Comp. Fr. *Un homme de bien*.

Rem. 1. Less frequently the substantive which expresses a quality precedes and the other noun follows it in the genitive, as מְבָרַר עֲמָלָיו *the choice of thy valleys*, i. e. *thy chosen valleys* Is. 22, 7 (comp. 17, 4), 37, 24, Gen. 23, 6, Ex. 15, 4. This is the usual construction with the substantive לֵּל *totality* used for the adj. *all, whole* (see § 111, 1).

2. Instead of an adjective, which ought to stand as the predicate of a sentence, a substantive is sometimes employed; e. g. Gen. 1, 2, *the earth was desolation and emptiness*, Job 3, 4 *let that day be darkness*, Ps. 25, 10, 35, 6, 88, 19, 110, 3, Is. 5, 12, Job 23, 2, 26, 13; in a few of these cases the periphrasis with the aid of a substantive was necessary, as there existed no corresponding adjective. But in all cases the idea of quality is more strongly expressed by a substantive than by an adjective or verb. The same may be said of the examples where the predicate has been expressed by a substantive with a preposition, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is בְּכֹחַ with power* i. e. *powerful*.

2. Especially, adjectival ideas, denoting the possession of a thing, quality or condition, and the like, are frequently expressed by circumlocution, viz. by substantives (like *man, lord, son, daughter*) with the genitive of the thing, attribute, etc., in the following manner:—

a) אִישׁ *man*, e. g. אִישׁ דְּבָרִים (prop. *man of words*) *eloquent man* Ex. 4, 10; אִישׁ יָדָעוֹ (prop. *man of knowledge*) *intelligent man* Prov. 24, 5; אִישׁ חֶמֶד *wrathfull man* Prov. 15, 18.—b) בָּעֵל *master, owner*, e. g. בָּעֵל שֵׁעַר *hairy* 2 K. 1, 8, בָּעֵל חֲלֻמוֹת *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19.—c) בֶּן *son* and בַּת *daughter*, e. g. בֶּן יָדָעַל *valiant man* 1 K. 1, 52; בֶּן־מִזְרָח *an oriental* Gen. 29, 1; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *one year old* Ex. 12, 5; בֶּן־מוֹת *doomed to death=a child of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31; בַּת־מָוֶת *woman* 1 Sam. 1, 16; poet. also of a thing without life, as in Is. 5, 1 בְּרִשְׁתָּן *fat ground* (of a fruitful hill); comp. בֶּן־לֵלָה Jonah 4, 10.

A bolder construction, and merely poetic, is the use of the simple abstract in place of the concrete, as בְּלִיָּעַל *worthlessness* for בְּרֵבָה or 'רֵבָה *worthless*, like L. *scelus* for *sceleratissimus*. Comp. § 83, Rem. 1.

Rem. On the contrary, forms of adjectives or concretes, especially in the feminine, often take the abstract signification, as has been shown in § 84, 1, 3, 12, etc.; comp. § 107, 3, b.

We here remark, also, that the poets employ certain *epitheta ornantia* alone instead of the substantive to which the attribute belongs; e. g. אֲבִיר *the Strong*, i. e. *God*; אֲבִיר *strong*, i. e. *the ox*, in Jeremiah *the horse*, רֵוֶן *majestic, august*, for *the prince* (comp. נָשִׂיא *elatus*, with the same signification); לָבָן *white*, i. e. *the moon*. So also רֵבֶץ *hurking*

i. e. *the lurker*, for *a lurking lion* Gen. 4, 7. In Arabic this use of adjectives and participles for substantives is even far more common. Comp. L. *merum* for *vinum*, ὑγρή i. e. *the sea* in Odyss. 1, 97.

§ 107.

INDICATION OF THE GENDERS OF THE NOUNS.

Whether the Hebrew regarded a substantive as feminine is known partly from its feminine termination in the singular (§ 80, 1, 2), and from the feminine ending of the plural (see however § 87, 4) and partly merely from its construction with a feminine predicate. On the indication or non-indication of the gender, and also on the peculiar Hebrew conception of genders, the following has to be noted in particular.

1. The most natural use of it was the express indication of gender in cases where the physical sex of man or beast comes into consideration. Language shows, however, several gradations, according as this natural distinction is more or less prominent in the mind's view. The former is principally the case—

- a) when the female is designated by an entirely distinct word, which, of course, requires no feminine-ending, as *father*, *mother*, in Heb. אב, אם; אֵיל ram, רְחֵל ewe; חֲמוֹר he-ass, אֲרוֹן she-ass;
- b) when the female is indicated only by the addition of the feminine-ending, as אח brother, אחות sister; צֶלֶם young man, צִלְמָה young woman; פָּר ox, פָּרָה heifer; עֵגֶל he-calf, עֵגִילָה she-calf; the gender is less emphatically distinguished:—
- c) when the feminine gender is shown only by the construction (*communia*), like ὁ, ἡ βοῦς, ὁ, ἡ παῖς, as נָמֵל camel, masc. in Gen. 24, 63, but fem. in 32, 16; בָּקָר masc. for male cattle in Ex. 21, 37, but fem. for female cattle in Job. 1, 14;
- d) when, without regard to the natural distinction of the sexes, only one form is employed in the same gender to designate both (*epicæna*), as in ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν; e. g. דָּבִיבִיבִי masc., a bear robbed of his young Hos 13, 8 (yet

it is construed as feminine in 2 K. 2, 24, Is. 11, 7); אֵלֶּיָּהּ *masc.*, *or* in Ps. 144, 14, where however the *cow* is intended.

In cases under a, b, c, the more definite designations of the *fem.* gender, although existing in the language are often replaced by more general expressions which are used elsewhere only for the masculine, e. g. חֲמוּר as *fem.* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 19, 27, and אֵלֶּיָּהּ for אֵלֶּיָּהּ Ps. 42, 2. Compare in German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin*; on the other hand in Arabic, where the more ancient style avoids the feminine forms e. g. *ba'la mistress*, *'arūsa bride*, which become more and more common in later usage. On the other hand נָצַר *boy, youth* being employed also for נָצְרָה in the Pentateuch, comes from the originally epicene use of נָצַר. But if in Job 1, 19, Ruth 2, 21, נָצְרִים is used for young people (of both sexes) it is because the idea of the male sex, as the nobler one, predominated and included at the same time, the female sex; comp. Arab. *'abawāni*, *the two fathers*, i. e. *parents*.

The same sparing use of the designation of sex appears also in other examples; viz. אֲמֹנָן *m. artificer* Prov. 8, 30 (where *wisdom* חָכְמָה *f.* is meant, like *artifex omnium natura* in Plin. 2. 1); מֵת *m. a dead body*, spoken of the corpse of a woman Gen. 23, 4; אֶלֶּיָּהּ for a goddess 1 K. 11, 5; comp. Eng. *friend, teacher*, also Lat. *auctor, martyr*.

Among *epicene* nouns are found names of whole species of animals, which were regarded as masculine or feminine according as they appeared strong and powerful, or weak and timid; e. g. *m. דָּבָר dog*, *wolf*; *f. יוֹנָה dove*, *stork*, *ostrich*, *hare*.

2. The use of the feminine-ending for denoting the feminine gender, is most constant in the adjectives and participles. See § 87, 5.

3. Besides objects properly feminine, there are others (nearly the same as those which in Greek and Latin are *neuter*) indicated in Hebrew by the feminine form viz.—

a) *Things without life*, for which the feminine, as the weaker, seemed to be the most suitable designation, as *חֵדֶּר side* (of the body), *thigh*, *חֵדֶּר* or *חֵדֶּר side* (of a country), *region*, *rear* (of a dwelling); *פָּנֶיךָ front* or *forehead*, *פָּנֶיךָ greave* (from some resemblance). As in the two last examples, so the feminine is often used to transfer the signification of an animate object to a kindred inanimate object (especially of art).

b) Hence *abstract ideas*, which decidedly prefer the feminine form, even when the masculine is also in use; as *נִקְמָה vengeance*, *נִקְמָה help* (§ 84, 11, 12). Adjectives when used substantively in a neuter sense (like τὸ καλόν), commonly take the fem. form, as *נְכוּנָה right* in

Ps. 5, 10; *וְיָצָא* *will, ill-luck*; so also in the plur. fem. *וְיָצָאוּ* *great things* Ps. 12, 4; *וְיָצָאוּ* (Part. Niph. *wonderful thing*).

c) At times the feminine form is applied, when a *dignity* or *office* is designated, as *קְנוֹיֹת* (prop. *surnames, equally named*) *colleagues*, *קְנוֹיֹת* *princes* (like our *highnesses*). Considered more closely, these feminine forms express really abstract ideas, which afterwards had been transferred to concrete individual persons. Undoubtedly the same is the case with *אֲבוֹת* *fathers* (more exactly something like *paternitas*, indicating dignity). Of a somewhat different kind are cases like *קְנוֹיֹת* *concionator* (designation of *King Solomon* as the preaching wisdom) where the fem. ending serves in a manner to designate the so named personality as being active in that particular direction; comp. *סֶפֶד* as a man's name in Neh. 7, 57, Ezra 2, 55. These words are, however, agreeably to their signification construed with the *masc.* This use of words prevails more extensively in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaean, e. g. in *Chalīpha* (fem. of *chalīph*, *successor, representative*). Compare in Lat. *magistratus*, Ger. *Herrschaft* (Eng. *lordship*) for *Herr* (Eng. *lord*), *Obrigkeit* for *Oberer*; *Majesty, Excellency*, Ital. *podestà*¹, etc.

d) *Collectives*, as *אֲרֻחַ* *wanderer, traveller*, *אֲרֻחוֹ* *caravan* (prop. *that which wanders for wanderers*); *זִמְלָה* (from masc. *זָמַל*) *a company of exiles*; *יֹשְׁבֵי* Is. 12, 6, Mic. 1, 11, 12, prop. *that which inhabits for inhabitants*; *אֲדִיבֵי* for *enemies* Mic. 7, 8, 10. So in Arabic often. Comp. the poetic *בְּנֵי צֵר* for *בְּנֵי צֵר* *sons (=inhabitants) of Tyre* Ps. 45, 13, *בְּנֵי עַמִּי* *my countrymen*. Comp. *καταλόγος* and *ἡ ἱππος* for the *cavalry*, *ἡ ἀμάχηλος* (Herodotus I. 80).

e) But on the contrary the feminine, as the *nomen unitatis* in Arabic, now and then denotes *an individual of a class*, when the masculine is used of the whole class, e. g. *אֲנִי* *ships, fleet* (1 K. 9, 26, comp. 2 Ch. 8, 18), *אֲנִי* *single ship* (Jon. 1, 3); *שֵׁעַר* *hair* (collectively), *שֵׁעַר* *a hair* (see Judg. 20, 16, 1 Sam. 14, 45, Ps. 40, 18); *שִׁיר* *song* (mostly collective), *שִׁיר* *a song*, so also *פֶּתַח* *a fig*, *פֶּתַח* *a blossom* (besides the collective *פֶּתַח* Gen. 40, 10), *שִׁשְׁתִּי* *a lily* (besides *שִׁשְׁתִּי*), *לִבְנָת* *a brick* Ez. 4, 1 (Arabic *labina*, also collect. *labin*), and other instances, although the difference is partly lost sight of in the Hebrew.

4. Many words (besides certain names of objects properly feminine, No. 1, *a—d* in this section) are more or less regarded as feminine, without having the appropriate ending, but taking the syntactical construction, as if feminine. They belong chiefly to the following classes:

¹ So *פָּשָׁא* (= *pasha*) is *fem.* in form and inflection, but *mas.* in sense and construction.—*Tr.*

a) Names of *countries and towns*, contemplated as mothers¹, or nurses (as it were), of the inhabitants e. g. אַשּׁוּר *f. Assyria*, אֲדָם *f. Idumaea*, צֵר *Tyre*; so also the appellative nouns which denote *country, city* or any *locality*, or *limited space*, as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, עוֹלָם *the world*, יָרֵךְ *city*, דֶּרֶךְ and אֶרֶץ *way*, מִדְּבָר *court*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*, בְּאֵר *the grave*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *north*, מְזֻזָּה *south*, etc.; at times even מְקוֹם (*place*) is *fem.*, as in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), and 2 Sam. 17, 12 in *K'thibh* (where the *Q'rî* gives the *masc.*).²

As names of people are commonly masculine, it often happens that the same word is used as *masc.* for the people, and as *fem.* for the country; e. g. יְהוּדָה *m. Jews* Is. 8, 8, *f. Judaea* Lam. 1, 3; אֲדָם *m. Idumæans* Num. 20, 20 and *f. Idumæa* Jer. 49, 17.

But names are also construed as *fem.*, even when intended for the people, by a metaphorical use (like the German *die Türkei schliesst Frieden*) Job 1, 15, 1 Sam. 17, 21, Is. 7, 2, 21, 2.³

b) Many *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, יָד and כַּף *hand*, אֶצְבַּע *finger*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, בִּיתֶּךָ *shoulder*, יָרֵךְ *loin*, שֵׁךְ *leg*, עֵין *eye*, אוֹן *ear*, זְרוֹעַ *arm*, לָשׁוֹן *tongue*, כַּנָּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*, בֶּטֶן *womb*, probably with reference to their subserviency as mere instruments⁴; and hence also words for *inanimate instruments and utensils*, as חֶרֶב *sword*, יָתֵד *peg*, אָרוֹן *ark or chest* (but also *masc.*), כַּד *bucket*, בֶּד *bed*, כַּס *cup*, also אֶבֶן *stone*, and many others.

c) *Fem.* too are the words for *light, fire*, and other *powers of nature*, as שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (also *masc.*), אֵשׁ *fire* (Eth. *ēsât*), אֵר *(light)* Job 36, 32 elsewhere *masc.*), נֹרָא *brightness*, also רֵיחַ *wind and spirit*, נְפֶשׁ *breath and soul* (both, but rarely, *masc.*), etc.⁵

¹ Thus אֲמָ in 2 Sam. 20, 19, and on Phœnician coins, stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις (comp. μήτηρ, *mater*), and by the same figure the inhabitants were called *sons of the country*, as *sons of Zion* Ps. 149, 2, *sons of Babylon* Ez. 23, 15 (like *son of the house, son of the womb*).

² As this word מְקוֹם is *masc.* everywhere else, so we find also in the others more or less fluctuation in the gender.

³ This applies also to the poetical personification of nations, countries and cities as female beings e. g. Is. 47, 1, 50, 1, 54, 1 seq., Ez. 16, 3, Lam. 1, 1. Therefore also בִּתְּרֵיךְ used for a city and its people (see above in No. 3, d), and the styling of a smaller place in dependence on a city as its *daughter*, as in Josh. 15, 45.

⁴ The *masc.* gender also is found in these nouns in a few cases, as זְרוֹעַ Is. 17, 5, שֵׁךְ Ez. 29, 27, לָשׁוֹן Ps. 22, 16. Only as masculine do we find אֶף *nose*, מִצְחָא *front*, צִוּא *neck*, עֲבֵרָא *nape of the neck*, מִוֹךְ *mouth*, עֲקֵב *heel*, זֵבֶל *tail*.

⁵ The particulars are to be found in the Lexicons. Some of these words have the feminine-ending, as בְּרָזֶל *brass*, בֶּטֶן *bow* (from the root בָּשָׁה *to be*), and yet are now and then construed as masculine, from a misconception as to their origin, taking the ב for a stem consonant.

§ 108.

OF THE PLURAL AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

1. Besides the proper plural-endings (§ 87, 1, 2), the language employs some other means for the expression of plurality, viz.—*a*) certain words, with a *collective* signification, which have their corresponding *nomina unitatis*, i. e. nouns which designate an individual of the class, as שׁוֹר *an ox*, בָּקָר *oxen*, e. g. חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five oxen* Ex. 21, 37, צֶמֶד *small cattle*, viz. *sheep or goats* (מִן הַצֹּאן), שֶׁן *a single head of the sheep or goats*;—*b*) the feminine-ending (§ 107, 3, *d*);—*c*) nouns which have the proper signification of the singular, but which are also used as collectives, e. g. אָדָם (never pl.) *man, the human race*, אִישׁ *a man*, for *men*, אֹיֵב *enemy for enemies*, עֵץ *tree for trees*. These words take the article, when all the individuals of the class are included (§ 109, 1). Comp. also § 108, 4, Rem. 1 on the special signification of the plural of certain collectives.

2. On the other hand, the terminations which properly express *plurality* are employed in the expression of other kindred ideas, so that the Hebrew at times uses plural forms where other languages employ the singular. The plural is thus used to denote:—

a) *Extension of space or time*; hence the frequent use of it to express *portions of space, regions or surfaces*, their unity being considered as the compound of an immense number of single particles or dots (comp. L. *loca*), שָׁמַיִם *heavens* (§ 88, Rem. 2), קוֹמָמִים *heights* (of heaven) Job 18, 19, מַיִם *water*, יָמִים poet. for יָם *sea* (as it were the vast surface of the sea), מְרִגְלִיז *place at the feet*, מְרִגְלִיז *place at the head*; *certain portions of the body*, which are parts of its extension,¹ as פָּנִים *face* (also *surface, front* in general), צַוְעָרִים *neck*; *spaces of time*, as יָמִים *life*, נְעֻרִים *youth*, זָקֵנִים *old age*. These latter plurals, however, may perhaps be better explained as intensively expressing the qualities and conditions inhering in the idea of the stem, so that זָקֵנִים expresses really the totality of the conditions of a זָקֵן. Such a comprehension into an abstract idea certainly takes place in cases like בְּרִיּוּת *virginity*, עֲרִיצוּת *perverseness*, שְׁוֵרָה *childlessness*, עִוְרָה *blindness*. Comp. the prepositions of space and time in pl. form, § 103, 3.

¹ Comp. the same use of the *plur.* in τὰ στήνα, τὰ νῦτα, τὰ πράχνηλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces*.

b) Might, power and greatness. These so-called *plurales excellentiae* are analogous to the intensive plural treated in *a*); here the plural serves first to form abstract nouns which express the fundamental idea, raised to a higher power (interiorly multiplied). Of this sort particularly is the plural (of אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים *God*). Even supposing that the use of this plural originated in a polytheistic view, in the language of the Old Testament it has become completely stripped of numerical multiplicity (so far at least as Elohim is used of *one* God) and retains only the conception of a being, who is in the highest degree an object of awe and reverence. So too a few times קָדְשִׁים *the most Holy* (God) Hos. 12, 1, Prov. 9, 10, 30, 3 (comp. Josh. 24, 19 and Aram. קְדֻשָּׁתִי *the Highest* Dan. 7, 18), and הַרְבֵּים *L. penates* always in the plural (even when only one image is meant) 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16. Also most frequently אֲדֹנָיִם = אֲדֹנָי *lord*, e. g. אֲדֹנָיִם קָשָׁה *a severe lord* Is. 19, 4, אֲדֹנָי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land* Gen. 42, 80, 89, 20, specially with *suff.* of 2d and 3d person, as אֲדֹנָיִךְ *thy lord*, אֲדֹנָי *his lord* (but אֲדֹנָי *my lord*, אֲדֹנָי *the Lord*, God's name, § 121, Rem. 4); so also מַלְכֵּךְ *master*, with *suff.* often מַלְכֵּי *his master* Is. 1, 3, מַלְכֵּיהָ *her master*. Comp. also עֹשֶׂה *creator* (always with suffix) Is. 22, 11, 54, 5 (with מַלְכֵּךְ) Ps. 149, 2, Job 35, 10.¹

Rem. 1. This use of the plural, according to letter *b*, is very limited, and very seldom extends beyond the above words, which (except הַרְבֵּים) are used in the singular as well. On the construction of these plurals with adjectives, see § 112, 1, Rem. 3; with verbs, in § 146, 2.

2. The plurals under *a* are also limited in common prose to few words, but in the language of the poets and prophets they are somewhat more frequent, e. g. חֹשֶׁכִּים *tenebrae* (used like our *shades* for dark places), עֲדָנִים and הֶעָנָנִים *delights*, אֱמוּנִים *faithfulness*, and many others.

3. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and this compound idea is to be expressed in the plural, it is done—*a*) most naturally by the plural form in the governing noun (§ 89, 1), as גִּבְרֵי הָיִל *valiant heroes* (prop. *heroes of valour*) 1 Ch. 7, 2, 9; so also in compounds, as בְּנֵי יִמְיָנִי *Benjaminite, plur.*

¹ Somewhat similar is the use of *we* by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. 1 Mac. 10, 19, 11, 31); but the plurals in the mouth of God (Gen. 1, 26, 11, 7, Is. 6, 8) are to be explained either as collectives (including the surrounding angels) or, and perhaps more justly, as plurals of reflection (self counsel). The Jewish grammarians call such a plural רֵבִיבֵי יְדִבּוּת (pluralis virium or virtutum); the moderns call it *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis majesticus*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address, as modern languages have it, is rather remote from the Hebrew usage.

בְּנֵי רִמְיָהוּ 1 Sam. 22. 7;—*b*) in *both* nouns, as בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים 1 Ch. 7, 5, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *prison-houses* Is. 42, 22, and so בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of God* (not *sons of gods*) Ps. 29, 1;—*c*) also in the *governed* noun only, as בֵּית אָב *father's house, family*, בָּתֵּי אֲבוֹת *families* Num. 1, 2 foll., בָּתֵּי הַבְּמֹת *the houses of the heights* 2 K. 17, 29, also בְּנֵי חֹב in 23, 19, בָּתֵּי עֲבִידָם *their idol-houses* 1 Sam. 31, 9. As to this remark, formerly overlooked by the grammarians, compare also Judg. 7, 25 (*the head of Oreb and Zeeb for the heads*). Here the two words, by which the compound idea is expressed, are treated just as a compound noun.¹

When a substantive with suffix is related to a plural, the singular form of the substantive is sufficient because the relation to plurality is sufficiently expressed by the suffix, as פִּימֹם *their mouth for their mouths* Ps. 17, 10, רִמְיָהוּ Ps. 144, 8, where we also can say *their mouth, their right hand*.

4. To the modes of expressing plurality belongs also the *repetition* of a noun, with or without the conjunction. By this is chiefly indicated *the whole, all, every*, as יוֹם יוֹם *day by day, every day*, אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, also אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, יוֹם וְיוֹם Est. 3, 4, דּוֹר וְדּוֹר *every generation* Deut. 32, 7; elsewhere *distributively*, as עֶדֶר עֶדֶר לְבָדָּהּ *each flock by itself* Gen. 32, 17, Num. 31, 4; also *a multitude* (in groups), even with the plural form, 2 K. 3, 16, גְּבִים גְּבִים *ditches in abundance* Joel 4, 14, Ex. 8, 10, also in *constr. st.* with a following genitive, as in Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֲרוֹת חֶמֶר *nothing but asphalt-pits*, Judg. 5, 22 (comp. Mark. 6, 39, 40); finally (*with the conjunction וְ*) *diversity, of more than one kind*, just as לֵל signifies *all and of every kind*, e. g. אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *diverse (two) kinds of weights* Deut. 25, 13, Prov. 20, 10; לֵב וְלֵב *a double heart* Ps. 12, 3, 1 Ch. 12, 38.

Not here, but to rhetoric, belongs impassioned repetition of the same noun in exclamations (e. g. Jer. 22, 29, Lam. 1, 16, Ez. 21, 32; also of an adjective, Is. 6, 3), in order to give value, as it were, to its idea in all directions.

¹ All the three methods occur also in Syriac and Ethiopic. See Hoffmanni, Gramm. Syriaca, p. 254; Ludolf, Gram. Ethiopica, p. 139; Dillmann, Gram. d. Äthiop. Spr., S. 364.

Rem. 1. Coherent substances, materials; etc., are mostly regarded as a *unity*, and therefore occur almost exclusively in the singular, as *זָהָב* *gold*, *כֶּסֶף* *silver*, *עֵץ* *wood*, *יַיִן* *wine* (yet *מַיִם* *water* is expressed by the plural, acc. to 2 a, but in Arabic it is singular). But when the word is used to express *portions*, separated from the totality, then of course the plur. is used, as *כֶּסֶף* *pieces of silver* Gen. 42, 25, comp. verse 35; *עֵצִים* *ligna* (*timbers* for building or *sticks* for burning) also pl. *trees*. So of grain, as *תַּבַּח* *wheat* (on the stalk), *חִטָּה* *wheat* (in the grain); the same, *שְׂעִירָה* and *שְׂעִירִים* *barley*; *דָּם* *blood* (as organic unity, therefore also the blood of sacrifices collected in a vessel) *דָּמָה* *spilled blood*, revealing itself by a multitude of blood spots (*Pluralis extensus*); however, the use of the plural (e. g. Gen. 10, 4) seems to have been limited to express simply *blood violently spilled* and therefore signifies directly *caedes* or *murder*.

2. In cases where the plural is regarded as poetic, the idea of *plurality* or *extension* is not excluded, e. g. Job 17, 1 *the graves are my portion* (that is *the grave-yard*, where many graves are together), comp. 21, 32, 2 Chr. 16, 14.

3. In some cases the plural designates an indefinite unity; as certainly in Judges 12, 7: *בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד* *in one of the cities of Gilead*; probably also Gen. 8, 4; 13, 12; 19, 29.

§ 109.

USE OF THE ARTICLE.

The article (הַ, הָ, הֵ, § 35) was originally a demonstrative pronoun (as in other languages, e. g. the Romance, comp. *ὁ, ἡ, τό* in Homer); yet its force is so slight at least in the language now before us, that it is used almost exclusively as a prefix to the noun.

Rem. The stronger demonstrative force of הַ (*this*) is still found in some connections, as *הַיּוֹם* (L. *hodie*) *this day, to-day* (in Scotch *the day*), *הַלַּיְלָה* *this night, to-night*, *הַזֶּמֶן* *this time*. To this demonstrative sense is to be referred in particular, —a) the fact, that sometimes it stands for the relative before the verb, e. g. *הַנִּמְצָאִים* *that are found* 1 Ch. 29, 17, 26, 28, Josh. 10, 24, Ezra 8, 25; likewise according to the view of the Massora Gen. 18, 21, 46, 27, Ruth 1, 22, 4, 3, Is. 51, 10, Job 2, 11; comp. also *הַנֶּחֱמָה* = *הַנֶּחֱמָה* 1 Sam. 9, 24; —b) the case where it is employed, mostly before a participle, to connect and to point back to a subject noun, in order to make it again prominent, as in Ps. 19, 10 *the laws of the Lord are truth* ver. 11, *הַנִּחְמָדִים* *they, that are precious*: here the article has nearly the force of *αὐτοί*. Comp. with this Ps. 104, 3 (three times), Is. 40, 22, 23, 46, 6, Gen. 49, 21, Job 5, 10,

41, 35, etc.; further before a participle with a verbal suffix in Ps. 12, 33 *הַיְיָ הַמְצַדֵּקֵנוּ הַיְיָ* *the God that girds me with strength*; comp. ver. 48, Jer. 19, 13, Neh. 10, 38. The article is found with like emphasis before substantives in the absolute: Deut. 32, 4, Ps. 18, 31 (= *he, the God whose, etc.*).

The article is used with a noun to define its application in nearly the same cases as in Greek, German and English, viz., only when a *definite object*, i. e. *one previously mentioned*, is the subject of discourse, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, Let there be light* (אֵר), ver. 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאֵר); 1 K. 3, 24 *Bring me a sword* (חֶרֶב), *and they brought the sword* (הַחֶרֶב), comp. Ec. 9, 15; or *one regarded as already known*, as הַמֶּלֶךְ הַשְּׁלֵמֹה *the king Solomon*; or *the only one of its kind*, as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*. The article is not used when the object is thought of as something indefinite, general or yet unknown, e. g. (besides אֵר and חֶרֶב above) in Ec. 1, 12 *I was king* (מֶלֶךְ) *over Israel in Jerusalem*.

In *poetry* only, where the article is much less used than in prose, even the definite nouns (as above) may dispense with it, e. g. מֶלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ Ps. 21, 2, אָרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ Ps. 2, 2.¹ In all the cases however where the ה of the article is syn-copated after a prefix (§ 35, Rem. 2) the vowel required for the article is in poetry also usually placed after the prefix. Ps. 2, 4 al.

Special cases in which the article is usually employed are—

1. When a generic word is used collectively to denote all the individuals belonging to it, as *the righteous, the un-righteous* Ec. 3, 17, *the woman for the female sex* Ec. 7, 26, *the Canaanite* Gen. 13, 7, 15, 19, 20, just as we say *the Russian, the Turk*; so among the Attics ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης.

2. When a generic word is applied by way of *eminence* to a particular object and thus becomes a kind of *proper name*, like ὁ ποιητής (Homer), as הַיָּשָׁן *adversary*, הַיָּשָׁן *the adversary, Satan*; הַבַּעַל *lord*, הַבַּעַל (prop. name of the idol) *Baal*; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים, ὁ Θεός, *the*

¹ Certain old words, mostly used by the poets, stand always without the article, as מְרוֹם, מְשָׁל, מְבַל, מְשִׁיחַ, מְשִׁיחַ, מְשִׁיחַ, מְשִׁיחַ, מְשִׁיחַ.

only, true God—יְהוָה (yet אֱלֹהִים is often used thus without the article, because it approaches the nature of a proper name, § 110, 1). So too הַנָּהָר the river, i. e. the Euphrates; הַבִּקֵּר the circuit, viz. of the Jordan.

3. Hence it is used also with actual proper names of rivers, mountains, and of many towns, with reference to their original appellative signification (comp. *the Hague*, *le Havre*; also our names *the Nore* and *the Nase*=*the nose* i. e. the head-land), as הַיָּאֵר the Nile (prop. *the stream*), הַלְבָנוֹן Lebanon (prop. *the white*, i. e. mountain), הַיַּרְדֵּן the Jordan (prop. *the descent*, i. e. rapid current). But its use in connection with names of towns is rare, comp. הָעִיר the town Ai (prop. *the ruins*), הַבִּקְעָה lit. *the hill*, הַרְקָה the height etc. and in poetry is generally omitted. (Comp. § 110, 1).

Rem. 1. If the Hebrew article ever stands for our *indefinite* article, it is because the Hebrews conceived and expressed many ideas definitely, which we are accustomed to put indefinitely. This is most common in the following cases:—

a) *In comparisons*, where the compared object is not conceived of as individual but as generic (see above No. 1), e. g. *white as the wool*, *as the snow*, *red as the scarlet* Is. 1, 18, *as the cattle* Ps. 49, 15, *he flings thee like the ball* Is. 22, 18, *the heavens are rolled up like the scroll* Is. 34, 4, comp. Is. 10, 14, 24, 20, 27, 10, 28, 8, 53, 6, Ps. 33, 7, Judg. 14, 8, 16, 9. Yet where the noun compared is already made definite by an adjective, the article does not stand any more than when a genitive follows, e. g. עֵקֶן Is. 10, 14, but עֵקֶן מְשֻׁחָה Is. 16, 2, Job 30, 14, comp. Ps. 1, 4 with Is. 29, 5. Exceptions to the above usage are rare, as קִנְבוֹר Job 16, 14, קֶאֱבָב Is. 31, 18.

b) *In the names of classes or of materials which are generally known*, e. g. *the gold*, *the silver*, *the cattle*, *the water*. Hence Gen. 13, 2 *Abraham was very rich in the cattle, the silver, and the gold* (where other languages would omit the article). Comp. Gen. 41, 42, Ex. 31, 4, 35, 32, Is. 1, 22. So שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ to burn in the fire.

c) Often also in the expression of abstract ideas (like τὸ ταπεινόν, *la modestie*), hence of physical and moral evils, as *the blindness* Gen. 19, 11, *the darkness* Is. 60, 2, *the falsehood* Is. 29, 21.

On these principles, it is easy to explain the use of the article in special cases, as in הַלְיֹוֹן the lion 1 K. 20, 36 (comp. 1 Sam. 17, 34, Amos 3, 12 and τὸν λέοντα in John 10, 12), Gen. 3, 7, 8, 14, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 3. The frequent הַיּוֹם does not stand simply as referring back to what has been related before (= *the same day*), but also directly for our *one day* (probably on the particular day in which it happened = *a certain day*) 2 K. 4, 18, Job 1, 6, 13.

2. The *vocative* also admits the *article* (as in Greek), and for the most part in those cases where it would usually stand; e. g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 *הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֶּה* *save, O King* (in the Sept. *ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ σωσων*, cf. *χαῖρε, ὁ βασιλεὺς* in John 19, 3), *הַזֶּה הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *O Joshua, the high priest* Zech. 3, 8, 1 Sam. 24, 9.

§ 110.

The article is regularly *omitted*¹—

1. Before the *proper name* of a *person* or a *country* (יְרֵד, מִצְרַיִם), and also of a *people*, when it coincides with the name of the founder of the race or the name of the country (יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲרָם). On the contrary, *gentilic* (p. 211) nouns admit it both in the sing. and plur., as אֲרָם *the Hebrews* 1 Sam. 13, 3, הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite* (collect. § 109, 1).

2. Before substantives, rendered definite by a following genitive or a suffix (§ 111, 1), which renders the use of the article unnecessary; e. g. אֱלֹהִים *God's word*, אָבִי *my father*.

The exceptions, in which the article stands before the *Nomen regens* (constr. state) or before a noun combined with a suffix, are either only apparent and are removed by a right syntactical analysis or there may be reasonable doubt whether the Massoretic vocalization be correct. Generally are counted here:

a) The cases, where it is alleged that the demonstrative force of the article should be rendered more prominent. This explanation seems admissible in 2 K. 23, 17, yet even there *הַקֶּבֶר* is not in *constr. state*, but must be explained: *this grave is* (the grave) *of the man of God*, therefore the same breviloquence (for *הַקֶּבֶר הַזֶּה*) as in examples below, *letter c.*—Also Ps. 123, 4 can be explained: *Our soul is filled with such scorning* (the scorning) *of those that are at ease*; comp. also Ez. 17, 15, Ezr. 3, 29, 2 Chr. 3, 16. Very doubtful are however: Josh. 8, 33; *הַחֵצֵי הַזֵּה* (the other) *half of it* (?), preceded by *הַזֵּה*; Judges 13, 14, where *הַזֵּה* apparently should be read *הַזֵּה*; 1 K. 14, 24 where the article which stands usually after *לֵל* has been placed erroneously before *הַזֵּה* (comp. Jer. 25, 26); in 2 K. 9, 4 the second *הַזֵּה* has been

¹ In these particulars (relating to the omission of the definite article, viz., before proper names, before nouns in construction with a genitive or with a possessive pronoun, and before predicates), the usage of our language corresponds to that of the Hebrew. The same is true of the Keltic tongues. In Greek it is quite otherwise, the article being freely used in all these cases, except the last.—Tr.

caused by the preceding one; in 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt. Jer. 32, 12. *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* is epexegetis (not genitive) to the absolute *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* and in cases like *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* Is. 9, 12 we have a verbal suffix, therefore accusative. The articles in the following examples may perhaps be considered as syntactical impossibilities: *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* Josh. 7, 21, *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* (perhaps a dittography of the *Kāph*), Lev. 27, 23, *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* Micah 2, 12 (evidently the *י* as copulative to be drawn to the following) *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* Prov. 16, 4.

b) When the genitive is a *proper name* which does not admit the article (according to No. 1), as *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּיתֵל* the altar of Bethel 2 K. 23, 17, *הָאֱלֹהִים בֵּיתֵל* the God of Bethel Gen. 31, 13, *הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר* the king of Assyria Is. 36, 16 (but not in the parallel passage 2 K. 18, 31); comp. Gen. 24, 67, Jer. 48, 32, Ezek. 47, 15 (comp. 48, 1); so also in the *vocative*, as in *בְּתוּלָה יְרוּשָׁלַם* O daughter of Jerusalem Lam. 2, 13. According to the first example (2 K. 23, 17) the Massora seems to have adopted everywhere the union of the article with the construct state. But here also it may perhaps be more correct to conceive the nouns with the article as *absolutes*, to which the genitive has been added in a loose connection, whilst, in reality, the *nomen regens* should be repeated without the article: e. g. *בֵּיתֵל (אֵל) בֵּיתֵל*. This is certainly true of cases:

c) When the connection between the noun and the following genitive is somewhat loose, so that the first forms a perfect idea by itself, while the second conveys only a supplemental qualification, relating chiefly to the material, as *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה* the weight, the laden one Zech. 4, 10, *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה* the altar of copper 2 K. 16, 14. But in verse 17 even the Massora seems to recognize such a relation of apposition (v. § 113 and § 116, 5) by vocalizing *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, the same in *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* Josh. 3, 14.

4. Before the predicate, which from its nature is indeterminate, as in Gen. 29, 7 *עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל* yet is the day great, i. e. it is yet high day 33, 13, 40, 18, 41, 26, Is. 5, 20 *הַאֲמָרִים* *רַע* who call the good evil, Is. 66, 3.

Yet there are cases where the nature of the predicate requires the article, as in Gen. 2, 11 *וְהָיָה חֹסֵב* it is the encompassing, i. e. that which encompasses; 45, 12 *וְהָיָה פִּי* that my mouth (is) the speaking—it is my mouth that speaketh Gen. 42, 6, Ex. 9, 27. See another case where the article stands before the predicate in § 109, beginning.

§ 111.

1. When a compound idea, expressed by a noun in the *constr. st.* followed by another in the genitive (§ 106), is to be made definite, it is done by prefixing the article to the

second noun; as *אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה* *man-of-war* Josh. 17, 1, but *אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה* *the men-of-war* Num. 31, 49; *דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר* *word-of-falsehood* Prov. 29, 12, *דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא* *the prophet's word* Jer. 28, 9.

Rem. 1. The article is sometimes put in the same way when only the genitive, and not the *nomen regens*, is definite, as *הַלֶּקֶחַ הַשֶּׁנִּיד* *a part of the field* 2 Sam. 23, 11 (see on the contrary Josh. 24, 32, Gen. 33, 19), *אִישׁ הָאֵמָּה* *a husbandmen* (if not appositional, v. *Delitzsch* in loc.), Gen. 9, 20 (comp. on the other hand *אִישׁ שָׂדֵה* Gen. 25, 27). Yet in this case we usually find another construction chosen in order to avoid ambiguity, see § 115.

2. This explains the use of the article after *כָּל* (prop. *totality, the whole*). The article is used after it to express definitely *all, whole* (like *F. tous les hommes, toute la ville*), and is omitted when it is used indefinitely for *of all kinds, any thing*, or distributively for *every* (*tout homme, à tout prix*)¹; e. g. *כָּל-הָאָדָם* *all men*, *כָּל-הָאָרֶץ* *the whole earth*, prop. *the whole of men, the whole of earth*; but *כָּל-אֲבָן* *stones of all kinds* 1 Ch. 29, 2, *כָּל-דָּבָר* *any thing* Judg. 19, 19, *כָּל-יְמֵי* *in every day* Ps. 7, 12. Yet also *כָּל-יְרֵד* *every living thing* = *all living* Gen. 3, 20 (in the same way *כָּל-עֵץ*, *כָּל-בְּהֵמָה*, etc.). In regard to the (appositional) placing behind of *כָּל* and the absolute use of *כָּל* = *the collective all, everybody*, e. g. Gen. 18, 12, see *Davies' Hebr. Lex.*

3. Even compound proper names may be resolved again into two words, and then the second takes the article; e. g. *בְּנֵי-יָמִינִי* *a Benjaminite* (§ 86, 5), *בְּנֵי-יָמִינִי* *the Benjaminite* Judg. 3, 15, *בְּתֵלְהֵמִי* *the Bethlehemite* 1 Sam. 17, 58.

2. When the substantive has the article, or (what is equivalent) is made definite by a following genitive or a suffix, then the adjective belonging to it also (including the demonstrative pronoun *זֶה, הַזֶּה*, § 122, 1), takes the article; as *הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה* *the great city* Gen. 10, 12; *הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא* *that place* 28, 19; *יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה* *thy strong hand* Deut. 3, 24; *מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה* *the great work of God* Deut. 11, 7.

Not quite rare is the use of the article also—

- a) With the adjective alone, and it then serves to make the preceding noun definite, e. g. *יּוֹם שֵׁשִׁי* *day the sixth* = *the sixth day* Gen. 1, 31 (on the contrary *יּוֹם שֵׁנִי* *a second day* 1, 8), 41, 28, 1 Sam. 19, 22, *יִשְׂרָאֵל* 7, 20, Ps. 62, 4, 104, 18, Neh. 3, 6, 9, 35, Zech. 14, 10. On the other hand *נֶפֶשׁ* Gen. 1, 21, 9, 10 has already been defined by *כָּל*. When the adjective is properly a participle, the omission of the article is the

¹ What is here said of *כָּל* applies also to its Greek equivalent, *πᾶς*; e. g. *πᾶσα ἡ πόλις* *the whole city* (Mat. 8, 34) = *כָּל-הָעִיר*, but *πᾶσα πόλις* *every city* (Mat. 12, 25) = *כָּל-עִיר*.—Tr.

general rule as in Jer. 46, 16 חֶרֶב וְדוֹחָהּ *the sword that oppresses*; this omission is quite necessary in cases of inversion as Is. 11, 9. Rarely stands the article

- b) With the substantive alone, as in רַבִּים הַגּוֹיִם *the many nations* in Ez. 39, 27, 2 Sam. 6, 3 (where perhaps the article before הַגּוֹיִם has been dropped erroneously before ה). Somewhat more frequently the article is wanting with the pronouns הוּא, הֵיאָה, הֵימָּן which are sufficiently definite of themselves, and for the same reason always with הוּא; as בְּיָלְדָהּ הוּא Gen. 19, 33, comp. 38, 21, הוּא הַדּוֹר Ps. 12, 8, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים 1 Sam. 2, 23, particularly when the noun is made definite only by a suffix, as in אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים 1 K. 10, 8, comp. Ex. 10, 1, Josh. 2, 20, Ez. 43, 12, Ps. 143, 10, Judg. 16, 5, 6, 15. Designedly indefinite is הַבָּרָא הַרָּעָה *an evil report respecting them* Gen. 37, 2 (הַבָּרָא הַרָּעָה would be *their evil report*), compare Num. 14, 37, 1 Sam. 2, 23; in Gen. 42, 19 אֶחָדָם מֵאֶחָדֵיכֶם means *one of your brethren*, Gen. 43, 14.

§ 112.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective, which serves to qualify the substantive, stands *after* it, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number* (as אִשָּׁה יָפָה, אִישׁ גָּדוֹל). If the substantive is qualified by an intervening noun in the genitive (§ 114), then the adjective stands after such noun, e. g. עֲטֹרַת זָהָב גְּדֹלָה *a great crown of gold* Est. 8, 15.—On the setting of the article in this construction, see § 111, 2.

Rem. 1. The cases in which an adjective (according to the usual explanation, on account of special emphasis) seems to stand before its substantive are based almost entirely rather upon an appositional relation; comp. Is. 10, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲקָרָהּ *Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* 23, 12: הַתַּעֲשָׂוִיתָ בְּרָעָלָהּ בְּרָצִירָהּ *thou disgraced one, virgin daughter of Zidon!* in 28, 21 וְיָרָא וְיָרִיחַ are predicates placed before; 53, 11: צַדִּיק עֲבָדִי *a righteous one, my servant*; Ps. 135, 4 מְדֻבָּר אֶתְּהִי *The praised one I call, Jehovah*. On the other hand רַבִּים *many*, is sometimes placed before the substantive in the way of a numeral without any seeming intention to indicate appositional relation; comp. Ps. 32, 10, 39, 15, Neh. 9, 28 (in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is a governing substantive).—Rare and mostly poetic is the form of expression הַאֲבָנִים הַנְּקִיִּים *smooth ones of stones for smooth stones* 1 Sam. 17, 40, Ez. 7, 24, Is. 35, 9, and with a collective noun instead of the plural, אֲבִינֵי הָאָדָם *the poor of men=the poor* Is. 29, 19, Jer. 49, 20, Zech. 11, 7, Hos. 13, 2. Similar is the Lat. *canum degeneres*. However in all these cases the adjective treated as *nbmen regens* has a great stress and amounts almost to a superlative.

2. When substantives of the feminine gender take *two* adjectives, the feminine form sometimes appears only in the one which stands nearest the substantive; as *מְלָאכָה נְמֻדָּה וְנָחֵם* 1 Sam. 15, 9, *רוּחַ גְּדֻלָּה וְרוּחַ יְהוָה* 1 K. 19, 11, Ps. 63. 2. Comp. § 147, Rem. 1.

3. In regard to *number*, it is first to be noticed, that the nouns in the dual take the adjectives or participles in the plural, as *עֵינַיִם רְמוּזִים* *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17, Ps. 12, 28, Job 4, 3, 4, Is. 35, 3. Comp. § 88, 1. Moreover, the *constructio ad sensum* is frequent; so that collectives are construed with the plural of the adjective or participle in 1 Sam. 13, 15, Is. 9, 1, Jer. 23, 4; but the *pluralis majestatis* (§ 108, 2, b) on the contrary with the singular, as *אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק* Ps. 7, 10, Is. 19, 4 (but with the *plur.* in 1 Sam. 17, 26).

2. An adjective often has its meaning more nearly defined by a substantive, which then follows it in the genitive case, as *יָפִי-יָדָאֵר* *beautiful of form* Gen. 39, 6, *נָקִי כַפַּיִם* *pure of hands* Ps. 24, 4, *אֲנִי נָשָׁם* *sorrowful of spirit* Is. 19, 10 (comp. L. *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*). In the same manner are often construed the *participles* and *verbal adjectives*, if they are not accompanied by the accusative (as the case belonging to their verb); see § 135.

3. On the adjective as predicate of the sentence, see §§ 144—148.

§ 113.

APPPOSITION.

By this is meant the placing together of two substantives, so that one of them (commonly the second¹) serves to limit or qualify the other, as *אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה* *a woman (who is) a widow* 1 K. 7, 14, *נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה* *a damsel (who is) a virgin* Dent. 22, 28, *אֱמָתִים אֱמֶת* *words (which are) truth* Prov. 6, 12, 22, 21, Job 20, 29, 27, 13. On cases where the first of the two substantives (before a following *constr. st.*) has the form of the *constr. st.*, see § 116, 5. Elsewhere, substantives which might be expected to be in apposition, stand also in a relation of subordination, e. g. *פָּרָא אִם* *a wild ass of a man*; comp. Prov. 15, 20, 21, 20.

¹ The first only in certain formulas, as *דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל* like the Ger. *der König David*, Eng. *the king David*, where the arrangement *דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל* 2 Sam. 13, 39, is of rare occurrence.

Also two adjectives may stand in apposition, in which case the first modifies the sense of the second, as *בְּחִירֵיהֶם כְּדוּרֹת לְבָנוֹת* *pale white spots* Lev. 13, 39, in verse 19 *בְּחִירֹת לְבָנָהּ אֲדָמָה* *a white red (bright red) spot*.

See more on apposition in § 116, Rem. b, § 118, 3, § 120, 1, 2, § 121, 3.

§ 114.

OF THE GENITIVE.

1. It has been shown above (in § 89), that the Hebrew regularly expresses the genitive-relation by making the noun in the genitive (*nomen rectum*) dependent upon, and closely connected with, the *nomen regens* in the *constr. st.* A genitive is regularly dependent upon only one governing noun.¹ The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *constr. st.* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (וְ), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens*; e. g. Gen. 24, 3 *אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ* *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth*, Jer. 8, 1. But there may be formed a chain of construct states by one governed noun becoming again the governing noun of a genitive depending on it. Even then the repetition of the *constr. st.* has indeed often been avoided by means of a circumlocution (see § 115), however comp. *יְמֵי שָׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבוֹתַי* *the days of the years of the life of my fathers* Gen. 47, 9 *שְׂאֵר מִסְפַּר־קֶשֶׁת גְּבוּרֵי בְנֵי־קֶדָר* *the residue of the number of the bows of the heroes of the sons of Kedar* Is. 21, 17.

In these examples (comp. also Is. 10, 12, Job 12, 24 and others) all the nouns except of course the last genitive are in the *construct state*. Yet we find also examples where a genitive in the midst of a chain stands in the absolute forming together with its governing noun a compound idea, from which (but principally from the governing noun) depends the following genitive. Thus, in Is. 28, 1 *יָמָּה שְׂגִינִים וְלֵיגָם יֵין* *the fat valley (prop. valley of fatness) of the smitten of wine*, 1 Ch. 9, 13, Ps. 68, 22.

¹ It would be quite unusual to say *בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד* *the sons and daughters of David*, which ought to be expressed by *בְּנֵי דָּוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו* *the sons of David and his daughters*. But see Ez. 31, 16, Is. 11, 2 *knowledge (of Jehovah) and fear of Jehovah* (compare the Biblical Greek in Mat. 6, 33 *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτοῦ*).

2. The governing noun may be followed not only by the so-called *subjective* genitive, indicating possessor, originator, etc., but also by the so-called *objective* genitive, e. g. Ez. 12, 19 חַמְסַם הַיֹּשְׁבִים *the wrong which the inhabitants did*, but otherwise in Obad. verse 10 חַמְסַם אָחִיךָ *the wrong against thy brother*¹ (comp. Gen. 16, 5, חַמְסַם *the wrong done to me*), Prov. 20, 2 אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the dread of a king*, יְרֵאָה יְהוָה *the fear of the Lord*, זַעקַת סֹדֶם *the cry concerning Sodom* Gen. 18, 20, שְׂמִיעַ צָר *the report about Tyre*, שָׁלַל אֵיבֶיךָ *the spoil of (taken from) thy foes* Deut. 20, 14; further, עַץ דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ *way of (i. e. to) the tree* Gen. 3, 24, Prov. 7, 27, Job 38, 20; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *way of (by) the sea* Is. 8, 23, זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *sacrifices of (pleasing to) God* Ps. 51, 19, שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה *an oath of (i. e. sworn by the name of) יהוה* 1 K. 2, 43.

3. The genitive construction stands also frequently in place of apposition (§ 113), as נְהַר פָּרָה *river of Euphrates*; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן etc. see more in § 116, 5.

Rem. 1. Between the noun in the *constr. st.* and the following genitive an insertion of a word seems to occur in Hos. 14, 3 (חַמְסַם after -קָל), 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (עֵד after -קָל). In truth, however, in all these three examples the construct state has been abolished by *hypallage* (for עֵד קָל etc.) and therefore 2 Sam. 1, 9 may for instance be explained thus: *for as a totality my soul is still in me = my whole soul*.

2. As the genitive always gives a closer definition of the noun standing in the construct state, proper nouns cannot really stand in *stat. constr.* because by nature they are already defined. Combinations in which nevertheless proper nouns stand in *constr. st.* are based on breviloquence which suppresses the appellative idea contained in the proper noun. So especially with geographical names, as in אֶרֶץ כַּשְׁדִּים *Ur (city) of the Chaldees* Gen. 11, 28, אֶרֶץ נַחֲרָיִם *Aram (the region) of the two rivers = Mesopotamia*; so also יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah of hosts* for אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah the God of hosts* (2 Sam. 5, 10 *et al.*) comp. § 116, Rem.

¹ In Latin the genitive is similarly used after *injuria* (Cæs. B. Gall. 50, 30), *metus* (like *metus hostium*, *metus Pompeii*), *spes*, and other words. Comp. Aul. Gell. 9, 12. In Greek compare εὐνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

§ 115

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

Besides the indication of the genitive-relation by the *construct state* (see in § 89, and § 114), there are certain *periphrastic expressions*, chiefly by means of the preposition ל, which among others denotes the idea of *belonging to*, and this corresponds to the genitive relation. Accordingly, we find—

1. אָשֶׁר לְ, used principally for the genitive of *possession*, as רֹמֶשֶׁן לְאִשֶּׁר לְאָבִיהָ Gen. 29, 9, 47, 4 *the flock of her father* (prop. *the flock which to her father belonged*); and also where there would be several successive genitives (to avoid the repetition of the *constr. st.*, but see § 114, 1), as אֶבְרִיר הֶרְעִים אָשֶׁר לְשָׂאֵל *the chief of the herdsmen of Saul* 1 Sam. 21, 8, שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אָשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה *the song of songs of Solomon* Cant. 1, 1 (an obvious effort to retain the usual juxtaposition of the two words שִׁיר (הַשִּׁירִים) 2 Sam. 2, 8, 1 Chron. 11, 10 and for reasons given § 114, Note, Gen. 40, 5. (Hence came the Rabbinic sign of the genitive לְ=שֶׁ comp. Cant. 1, 6, 3, 7; in Aramaic, the simple relative דִּי or דְּ serves as sign of the genitive.)

2. לְ (without אָשֶׁר), which also denotes the genitive of *belonging to* and of *possession*,¹ as רֹמֶשֶׁן לְשָׂאֵל *the scouts of Saul* 1 Sam. 14, 16. This is used particularly, — *a*) when the governing (or first) noun is expressly regarded as *indefinite*, e. g. בֶּן לִי־שֵׁשׁ *a son of Jesse* 1 Sam. 16, 18 (whereas בֶּן־יִשְׁשָׁכָר signifies *the son of Jesse*), כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֲלִיֹן *a priest of the most high God* Gen. 14, 18, 41, 12, שְׁנֵי עֲבָדִים לְשִׁמְעִי *two servants of Shimei* 1 K. 2, 39, אֹהֶב לְדָוִד *a friend of David* (was Hiram) 1 K. 5, 15, מְזֻמָּר לְדָוִד *a psalm of David* (i. e. belonging to him as the author); and elliptically לְדָוִד *of David* Ps. 11, 1, 14, 1; cases like לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר (e. g. Ps. 24, 1) cannot be considered simply as an *hypallage*, but מְ is an *epexegetis* to the generic word, omitted before לְ. Altogether the introduction of the author, poet, etc. by the so-called *l auctoris* is also customary in the other Semitic dialects, especially in the Arabic. — *b*) when several genitives depend on one substantive, e. g. הַלֵּךְ וְהַשְׂדֵּה לְ

¹ Philologically considered, the Gascon says no less correctly *la fille d Mr. N.*, than the written language *la fille de* —; the former expresses the idea of *belonging*, the latter that of *descent*. The Arabians distinguish a two-fold genitive, viz. one which has the force of ל, and one which has that of בֶּן. We have the latter conception of this relation in the *de* of modern languages, that are derived from the Latin (the Romance languages). In Greek we may compare the so-called *σχημα Κολοφώνιον*, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (see Bernhardt's *Syntax*, p. 88).

לְבֶן *the portion of the field of Boaz* Ruth 2, 8, 2 K. 5, 9, קְטֹרֶת הַיָּמִים *the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel* 1 K. 15, 81, לְסִפְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel* 1 K. 15, 81, רָאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת לְמִשְׁחוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Josh. 19, 51, where the sets of more closely-connected nouns which form one conception (*chronicles, kings of Israel, heads of families, etc.*) are joined by means of the *constr. state*, while the ל stands between the sets to indicate a looser connection (yet comp. § 114, 1);—c) after specifications of number, e. g. שִׁבְעִים וְשְׁנַיִם *on the seven and twentieth day of the month* Gen. 8, 14, 7, 11.

§ 116.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

The *construct state*, so far as it serves to put one noun in close connection with the following word or combination of words is, in the flow of speech, used not only for the genitive-relation, but also—

1) Before prepositions, particularly in the more elevated style, and oftenest when the governing word is a participle, e. g. before ב, as שְׂמֵחָה בַּקֹּצִיר *the joy in the harvest* Is. 9, 2 (v. also verse 1), 5, 11, 19, 8, Ps. 2, 12; before ל, as מְצֻפֹן לְעִיר *on the north of the city* Josh. 8, 13, אֲהַבֵּי לָנוּ Is. 56, 10, 30, 18, Ez. 1, 27, Ps. 58, 5, Lam. 2, 18, Job 18, 2, 24, 5; before אֶל Is. 14, 19; before מִן, as גְּמֻלִי מִחֶלֶב *weaned from milk* Is. 28, 9; before עַל in Judg. 5, 10; before the *Nota Accus.* Jer. 33, 22.

2) Before the relative pronoun (or more correctly in genitive relation with the whole phrase introduced by אֲשֶׁר, see No. 3), e. g. מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where*—Gen. 39, 20, 40, 3, Lev. 4, 24, 33, 2 Sam. 15, 21, 1 K. 21, 19, Jer. 22, 12.

3) Before relative clauses with the אֲשֶׁר understood, e. g. קִרְיַת הָהָר *the castle where David pitched his tent* Is. 29, 1, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל *the place of him who knows not God* Job 18, 21, 29, 2, 1 Sam. 25, 15, Ps. 90, 15. Comp. § 123, 3, Rem. 1.

4) Rarely even before *Wāw copul.*, as הַכְּמָח הָרֵעָה Is. 33, 6, 35, 2, 51, 21, Ez. 26, 10.

5) In appositions (viz., as far as an actual genitive-relation does not take place, as in § 114, 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁה בְּעִלְתָּ אֵיבָה *a woman, mistress of a soothsaying spirit* (comp.

παῖδισαχ ἔχουσα πνεῦμα πόθωνος Acts 16, 16; so also in צִיֹּן בְּתוּלָה בְּתוּלָה *virgin daughter of Zion* Is. 37, 22, comp. 19, 11; 23, 12, Gen. 14, 10; Deut. 33, 19, 2 Sam. 20, 19, 2 K. 10, 6, 17, 13 *Q'ri* Ja. 14, 17, 46, 9, Ps. 78, 9.

Partly at least those places may also be explained in the following manner. There exists a real genitival relation, but the first *constr. state* has been left in suspense, in consequence of the insertion of a permutation in its place; elsewhere (Ps. 68, 34, Job 20, 17) probably there takes place a direct leaning on the following construct state.

6) Also in other cases of closer connection in the expression; thus, at times (even with small distinctives) we have אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 17, 22, Zech. 11, 7, Gen. 48, 22, Is. 27, 12. Compare besides the *constr. st.* in the numerals from eleven to nineteen (§ 97, 2).

Rem. When in the above cases the *absolute st.* could in general stand quite as well as the *construct*, there are yet other constructions where the *constr. st.* might be expected rather than the *absolute*. Thus, for example—

- a) In geographical names like אֶבֶל בֵּית מַעֲכָה *Abel Bēth-Ma'achā*¹ (i. e. Abel of Beth-Ma'cha, to distinguish it from other places called Abel). Comp. on the contrary, § 114, Rem. 2.
- b) In some other cases, seemingly, where the connection is not close enough for the genitive-relation, so that the second noun must rather be considered as in apposition (§ 113) to the first. Here belongs Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן הַרְעִילָהּ not *wine of reeling*, but rather *wine that causes reeling*, Ez. 47, 4 מַיִם בְּרִיָּהִים *water up to the knees*; Is. 30, 20 מַיִם לְרִדָּה *water of affliction*, i. e. *water in affliction* (in prison). Comp. 1 K. 22, 27, Is. 3, 24 and the thorough explanation of this specially Semitic locution by Fleischer in the treatise: „Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab. (Berichte über die Verhandl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1862, S. 10 ff.).
- c) In the expression אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת *God hosts*, elliptical for אֱלֹהִים אֲלֵהֶם *God (the God) of hosts*, אֲלֵהֶם having here the value of a proper noun; so also the same ellipsis in יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (comp. § 114, 3, Rem. 2).

§ 117.

INDICATION OF THE OTHER CASES.

1. Since the Hebrew language has lost the living use of *case-endings* (§ 90), we must inquire what substitutes it

¹ So in English, *Bedford Street, Covent-garden*, for *near Covent-garden*. But in Latin the genitive is used in such cases, as *Augusta Vindelicorum*.

adopted for expressing the various case-relations of nouns in a sentence. The *nominative* is always to be known (as generally in English and always in Welsh) only from the syntactical construction. So also the *vocative*, which is really identical with it. On the modes of expressing the *genitive*, see §§ 114—116. Of the other cases for which the Indo-germanic languages have either throughout (as the Sanscrit) or at least in part, special forms of inflection, the *dative* is periphrastically indicated by ל (to),¹ the *ablative* by מן (from, out of), the *locative* and *instrumental* mostly by ב (in, at, by); but the Shemite regarded the nouns dependent on these prepositions as *genitives*, because the particles were themselves originally nouns; and in Arabic they have also the genitive-ending. Comp. § 101, 1.

On the use of the dative particle ל, so far as it serves to express also our genitive, see § 115, 1, 2.

2. The *accusative*, when expressing *direction* or *motion* to a place, has still frequently its ending ה (to) (§ 90, 2). Else it is, like the nominative, to be known only from the structure of the sentence. Yet we may often know it by the אֶת or אַתָּה (before suffixes also אֶת or אַתָּה), put before it, which, however, is used only when the noun in the accusative is made definite by the article, the construct state, a suffix, or otherwise (Gen. 6, 2, 2 Sam. 13, 17, 18, 18), or is a proper name. Such is the usage in prose, but not so much in poetry; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ (on the contrary, אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם Gen. 2, 4), 2, 24, 6, 10.²

¹ Just as the Lat. preposition *ad* in the Romance tongues (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Span. *á*) and *to* in Eng. are used to indicate periphrastically the dative.

² אֶת or אַתָּה (this form prob. used only before the so-called light suffixes, § 103, 1, Rem. 1), אֶת (without the accent in close connection with the following word) and אַתָּה (with a tone-long *ē*), Phœnician אֶת (prob. *iyath*, the Punic also pronounce *yth*), Arab. before suff. *'iyyā*, Aram. *yāth*, *yāth*, was originally a substantive, which signified *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syr. *ܐܬܐ*, comp. Heb. אֶת *a sign*), but in construction with a following noun or suffix it stands for the pronoun *ipse*, αὐτός (comp. a similar usage in § 124, Rem. 3). But in common use it has so little stress, that it only points out a definite object. Its force is here as feeble as that of the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν; *ipsi*, *ipsum*; Germ. *derselben*, *demselben*, *denselben*; and the Hebrew אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ prop. αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν

Rem. The cases are rare in which **לִּי** stands before an indefinite noun, but more are found in the loftier style, where the article also may be omitted before a noun that is definite according to the sense (§ 109), as Prov. 13, 21 **לִּי צְדִיקִים**, Is. 50, 4, Job 13, 25, Ezek. 43, 10; very few occur in prose, like 1 Sam. 24, 6 (where, however, the noun is made definite by the context), Ex. 2, 1 where perhaps the proper name (Jokhèbed) has been dropped after **לִּי**.

§ 118.

USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE.

The accusative is employed—1) as the object of the transitive verbs (§ 138); but serves also—2) for what are rather adverbial expressions, where it is no longer governed immediately by the verb.

The second of these usages is undoubtedly derived from the first, and to this still belong several constructions in which the accusative is commonly supposed to be used adverbially (§ 138, 1, Rem. 3). But we are not therefore authorised at all to reject the adverbial use of the accusative.

Accordingly, the accusative is employed—

1. In designations of *place* (*accusativus loci*);—*a*) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion, as **נֵצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה** *let us go out into the field* 1 Sam. 20, 11, **לָלֶכְתָּ תַּרְשִׁישׁ** *for to go to Tarshish* 2 Ch. 20, 36, Ps. 134, 2, Ex. 4, 9;¹—*b*) in

(comp. αὐτῇ Χρυσήδᾳ II. i. 143) *it, the heaven*, is not stronger than τὸν οὐρανόν.—That **לִּי** may denote also the nominative, is from its original signification (see above) not of itself inconceivable, and it seems to occur so in Hag. 2, 17, Dan. 9, 13 (hardly however Eccl. 4, 3). Elsewhere (1 Sam. 17, 34 *and with the bear*) the preposition **לִּי** *with* is rather meant, and in Josh. 22, 17, Neh. 9, 32 (both times after an idea of want) as well as 2 Sam. 11, 25, it may be considered as a loosely governed accusative, which it certainly indicates when connected with the passive (comp. 2 K. 18, 30) see § 143, 1, *a*.—The accusative actually precedes in Ez. 35, 10; 44, 3 (in both cases **לִּי** has the sense of the Lat. *quod attinet ad*).—In Ez. 47, 17, 19 (comp. 43, 7) **לִּי** stands for **לִּי** and ought rather to be so emended in the text; comp. ver. 20; but the LXX already, which only in v. 18 have ταῦτα, know hardly any other reading than **לִּי**, and this, therefore, in all these cases has to be considered as *Nota accus.*, dependent on some word which must be supplied, as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7: ἐδράκα) 47, 17 ff. perhaps as much as: *there hast thou*.

¹ So in the Greek, but only poetically, II. i, 317 αἶψα δ' οὐρανὸν ἔκταν; Lat. *rus ire, Romam profectus est*, and generally so in Sanskrit.

answer to the question *where?* after verbs of rest, as בֵּית אָבִיהָ *in the house of thy father* Gen. 38, 11, Is. 3, 6, פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל *in the door of the tent* Gen. 18, 1. Then also—*c*) with reference to *space and measure*, in answer to the question *how far?* Gen. 7, 20 *the water rose fifteen cubits*.

In the cases *a* and *b*, especially the first, the accusative-ending הַ— is often appended, on which see § 90, 2. The first relation may also be expressed by אֶל (as it commonly is with reference to persons), and the second by בְּ; but we are by no means to suppose that, where these particles are omitted, they must be supplied.

2. In designations of *time*;—*a*) in answer to the question *when?* as הַיּוֹם *the day* i. e. *on the day, then; or on this day, to-day or by day* (= יוֹמָם); עֶרֶב *at evening* (= לְעֶרֶב); לַיְלָה *by night*; צֶהֱרַיִם *at noon* Ps. 91, 6; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׁעָרִים *at the beginning of barley harvest* 2 Sam. 21, 9 (*K^ethibh*);—*b*) in answer to the question *how long?* שְׁנָה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנִים *twelve years (long)* Gen. 14, 4; שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים *six days (long)* Ex. 20, 9; עוֹלָמִיּוֹם *for eternal ages* 1 K. 8, 13; also with the article and אַת in Deut. 9, 25 אַת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאַת אַרְבָּעִים הַלַּיְלָה *the 40 days and the 40 nights (long)*.

3. In other adverbial expressions, where we say *in regard or respect to*, etc. as Job 41, 7 *in the manner of a closed seal*, Gen. 41, 40 אֲנִי אֶגְדֵּל מִמֶּךָ *only in respect to the throne will I be greater than thou* (accus. of measure); 2 Sam. 21, 20 *four and twenty* מִסְפָּר *in number* (comp. τρεῖς ἀριθμόν); Job 1, 5 *he brought burnt-offerings* כְּלָם מִסְפָּר *according to the number of them all*; 1 K. 22, 13 פֶּה אֶחָד *with one mouth* i. e. *with one voice* (acc. of instrument); comp. Zeph. 3, 9 *they served God* אֶחָד שִׁכְם *with one shoulder* i. e. *with one mind*; Job 24, 7 עָרוֹם *naked* (acc. of condition) *thy lodge*. With a following genitive, *for fear of thorns* (accus. of cause) Is. 7, 25. Here belong also cases like מִשְׁנֹדֶה כֶּסֶף *the double in money* Gen. 43, 15, שְׁנַתָּיִם יָמִים *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; on the other hand אֵיפָה שְׁעָרִים *an ephah of barley* Ruth 2, 17 may rather be taken as a case of apposition (§ 113).

Similar cases of a more free use of the accusative in connection with verbs are explained in § 138 and § 139. By the same process, carried still farther, many substantives have come to be distinctly recognised as adverbs (§ 100, 2, *b*).

Bem. Similar reference to place, time, etc., may be denoted by a noun when it is connected with כְּ (as, according to, after the manner of), this prefix being originally a substantive, comp. the Lat. *instar*. Thus,—a) of place; כְּבָרְדִּים as in their pasture Is. 5, 17, 28, 21; כְּמוֹ לְבָשׁ as in attire Job 38, 14; כְּחִלּוֹם as in a dream Is. 29, 7, comp. 23, 15;—b) of time, especially in the forms כְּיוֹם as the day—as in the day Is. 9, 8, Hos. 2, 5; כְּיָמֵי as in the days of—, Hos. 2, 17, 9, 9, 12, 10, Amos 9, 11, Is. 51, 9;—c) with another reference, as in Is. 1, 25 *I will purge away thy dross כְּבַר as with lye*; Job 28, 5 כְּמוֹ אֵשׁ after the manner of fire—as by fire; כְּאֶבֶן after the manner of the stone, i. e. as into stone (the water is gathered in freezing) Job 38, 30; 29, 23 כְּמַטֵּר as for the rain (they waited for me).

Rarely a preposition is used after such a כְּ , e. g. כְּכָרְאֲשָׁה Is. 1, 26, 1 Sam. 14, 14.

In all the above cited cases the כְּ must be considered as an adverbial accusative; however a substantive with כְּ may, by virtue of the substantive signification of the latter stand either for the accusative or for the nominative relation.

§ 119.

HOW TO EXPRESS THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.¹

1. The *comparative* is expressed by the adjective followed by the particle מִן (מִי) from prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 $\text{נָבִיָּה מְקַלְהָעָם}$ taller than (lit. tall in distinction from) all the people, Judg. 14, 18 $\text{מְרוֹחַק מִדְּבַשׁ}$ sweeter than honey; so also after verbs, especially those denoting an attribute, as $\text{וַיִּגְבֶּה מְקַלְהָעָם}$ and he was taller than all the people 1 Sam. 10, 23; $\text{אָהַב אֶחָד מִכָּל בָּנָיו}$ he loved Joseph more than all his (other) sons Gen. 37, 3, Job 4, 17, 7, 6.

Upon the same signification of מִן (referring originally to space indicating the starting point, and a separation from something) is

¹ There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and superlative, which would be like أَفْضَل . Perhaps of this origin are أَقْرَب cruel, أَكْذِب deceptive (of a drying up brook), and its opposite أَثَرَان (contr. from 'aithan) constant, perennial. However these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis and might, at most pass for isolated remainders of a former comparative and superlative formation, in the same way as the Lat. comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più*, *plus*).

based also its use in expressions like *בְּהָר מִן* Job 7, 15, *יְהִירֶן מִן* pre-eminence over Ec. 2, 13; comp. Deut. 14, 2, which the Hebrew conceived as a separating *from*, marking out. (Compare the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of the Latin words *eximius*, *egregius*, and in Homer *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα* Il. iv. 96, and simply *ἐκ πάσων* xviii. 431). Hence the signification *more than* connects itself with the fundamental signification *out from*.

The adjective upon which *מִן* logically depends must sometimes, by virtue of a pregnant use of the *מִן*, be supplied from the connection, e. g. Is. 10, 10 *פְּסִילֵיהֶם מִירֵשָׁלַם* *their idols* are more numerous (mightier) *than* those in *Jerusalem*, Micah 7, 4 *מִמְסוּכָה* (sharper) *than a thornhedge*, Job 11, 17 *מִצְהָרִים* clearer *than noon*.

The correlative comparatives, such as *greater*, *less*, are expressed simply by *great*, *little*, Gen. 1, 16.

2. The several modes of expressing the *superlative*, amount all to this, that, in all of them the *positive form*, by means of the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive, is made to designate an *individual* as preeminently the possessor of the quality expressed (comp. Fr. *le plus grand*); e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (*הַצֶּעִרָה*), 17, 14 and *David was הַקָּטָן* the small (one), i. e. the smallest, and the three great (ones), i. e. the greatest, etc., Gen. 42, 13, Jon. 3, 5, *קָטָנָם וְיָדָר מִגְדֻלָם* from the greatest among them. (lit. *their great one*), even unto the least among them (lit. *their little one*), 2 Ch. 21, 17 *קָטוֹן בְּנֵי* the youngest of his sons; prob. also Gen. 9, 24.

Rem. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the following partitive genitive of the same word in the plural as: *כָּל־הַקְדוּשִׁים* the holiest of all, prop. holiness of holinesses; *שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים* the song of songs (the choicest song i. e. the Canticles). Comp. Gen. 9, 25 (the lowest servant) Num. 3, 32 the same with a participle Jer. 6, 28 and with the gen. sing. Hos. 10, 15. So sometimes an adjective combined with a partitive genitive has a superlative signification; comp. Judges 5, 29, 1 Sam. 9, 21, Job 30, 6 (=in the most frightful valleys) 41, 22. Comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 1.—Finally belongs here the placing together of two substantives, being related either etymologically, or at least by sound, as Ez. 6, 14; 33, 29, Nah. 2, 11, Zeph. 1, 15, Job 30, 3.

§ 120.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10 (originally abstract substantives, § 97, 1), may be connected with substantives in three different ways. They may stand either,—*a*) in the *constr. st. before* the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), *שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים* *three days*, prop. *triad of days*, *שְׁנֵי הָאָנָשִׁים* *the two men*; or—*b*) in the *absol. st. before it* (the thing numbered being then considered as in apposition), *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *three sons* (prop. *a triad viz. sons*), *שְׁנַיִם אָנָשִׁים* *two men*; or—*c*) in the *absol. st. after it*, as in apposition with the object numbered e. g. *בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ* *three daughters* 1 Ch. 25, 5; the latter especially in the later books, because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.

Accordingly, the constructions *מֵאתָ שָׁנָה* (Gen. 17, 17) and *מֵאתָ שָׁנָה* (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*, are equally common.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1) with the plural. But the tens (from 20 to 90) when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative), and when they follow it in apposition, they take the plural, e. g. Judg. 11, 33 *עֶשְׂרִים עִיר* *twenty cities*; on the contrary, *אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים* *twenty cubits* 2 Ch. 3, 3, seq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Ex. 36, 24, 25), but the singular never occurs in the second case, which is altogether rarer.

Rem. The numerals from 11 to 19 are generally joined to the singular form (in the accusative) only with certain substantives, which there is frequent occasion to number, as *יּוֹם* *day*, *שָׁנָה* *year*, *אִישׁ* *man*, *שִׁבְט* *tribe*, also *בָּקָר* collective *cattle*, etc. (comp. our *four year old, a thousand man strong*); e. g. *אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יּוֹם* prop. *fourteen day* Ex. 12, 6 (comp. however Deut. 1, 23, Josh. 4, 2). With this exception, they are joined to the plural; and then, especially in the later books they stand after the substantive (Num. 7, 87, 1 Ch. 4, 27, 25, 5).

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21 or 62) take the object numbered either after them in the singular (in the accusative), as *שְׁנַיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה* *two and sixty years*

Gen. 5, 20 (according to No. 2, שָׁנָה having special reference to the preceding *tens*); or before them in the plural, as especially in the later books (Dan. 9, 26); or the object is repeated, with the units in the plural (acc. to No. 7), with the tens (acc. to No. 2) and hundreds in the singular, as in Gen. 12, 4 מֵאָה שָׁנָה חֲמִשָּׁן שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים *seventy-five years*, Gen. 23, 1 מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעִים *one hundred and twenty-seven years*; comp. Gen. 5, 6.

4. The *ordinals* beyond 10 have no peculiar forms, but are expressed by those of the cardinals, which then stand either before the object numbered, or after it, as בַּשְּׁבַע עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day* Gen. 7, 11; בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the 40th year* Deut. 1, 3, 2 K. 25, 27 with the repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K. 6, 1, or בְּשָׁנָה עֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעִים *in the year twenty-seven* 1 K. 16, 10. In the latter case, the word שָׁנָה is likewise frequently repeated, as in Gen. 7, 11, 2 K. 13, 10.—In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are used frequently also instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתֵּי *in the year two*, בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלוֹשׁ *in the year three* 1 K. 15, 25, 2 K. 18, 1 בַּחֲשֵׁמֶה לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the ninth of the month*, בַּאֲחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first of the month* Lev. 23, 32, Gen. 8, 13.

Rem. 1. The numerals take the article when they stand without immediate connection with the thing numbered, referring back to a preceding substantive, as הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה *the three* 1 Ch. 11, 20, 21 comp. 25, 19 *the twelve*; (with the tens) Gen. 18, 29, 31, 32. Such a case as שִׁבְעִים הַיָּמִים *the seven days* (Judg. 14, 17) is to be explained on the principle stated in § 111, 1.

2. Certain substantives employed in designations of *weight, measure*, or of *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals; e. g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלְפָּה כֶּסֶף *a thousand (shekels) of silver*; so also before זָהָב *gold* 1 K. 10, 16; Ruth 3, 15 שֵׁשׁ עֹפָרִים *six (Ephah) of barley*; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם *ten (loaves) of bread*. Thus יוֹם is omitted in Gen. 8, 5, and חֹדֶשׁ in 8, 13.—The number of *cubits* is often stated thus, מֵאָה כַּאֲמָר *a hundred cubits*, prop. *a hundred by the cubit* Ex. 27, 18.

5. Distributives are expressed either by repetition of the cardinals, as שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי *two by two* Gen. 7, 9, 15. Comp. שֵׁשׁ שֵׁשׁ *six by six* 2 Sam. 21, 20 or periphrastically by a following לְ, אָחָד Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 (לְאָחָד after the

repetition of the words *six wings*). *One time, once*, is expressed by **פַּעַם אַחַת** (prop. *a tread*), comp. **הַפַּעַם** *this time*, **פַּעַמַּיִם** *two times, twice*, **שְׁלוֹשׁ פַּעַמַּיִם** *thrice* (also **שְׁלוֹשׁ רַגְלִים** *three times* Num. 22, 32). The same may be denoted also by merely the fem. forms of the cardinals, as **אַחַת** *once*, **שְׁתַּיִם** *twice*, **שִׁבְעַ** *seven times*, comp. also **בְּאַחַת** *once* Num. 10, 4. The ordinals too are employed in the same way, as **שְׁנִי** *second time* Gen. 22, 15, Jer. 13, 3. Comp. L. *tertium consul*.

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 121.

USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. When a personal pronoun is the subject of a sentence, like a noun in the same position, it does not require for its union with the predicate a distinct word for the copula (§ 144), e. g. **אֲנִי הַרְאָה** *I (am) the seer* 1 Sam. 9, 19, **בָּנִים אֲנִי הֹנֵן** *honest (are) we* Gen. 42, 11, **אַתָּה תָּמִים** *upright (wast) thou* Ez. 28, 15, **הֵלֹם אָחֵד הוּא בִּי עִירְמִים הֵם** *that naked they (were)* Gen. 3, 7, **הֵלֹם אָחֵד הוּא** *one dream it (is)* Gen. 41, 26.

2. The pronoun of the *third* person frequently serves to connect subject and predicate, and is then a sort of *substitute* for the copula; to speak more exactly: the predicate is joined in the form of an independant nominal sentence (§ 144, a), e. g. Gen. 41, 26 **הַשֶּׁבַע שָׁנִים הֵנָּה** *seven years (are) they*, Ec. 5, 18 **זֶה מַתָּה אֱלֹהִים הוּא** *this a gift of God it (is)*. Sometimes such a pronoun in the *third* person refers to a subject which is of the *first* or *second* person, e. g. Deut. 32, 39: **כִּי אֲנִי הוּא** *that I, I (am) he*; Ps. 102, 28 **אַתָּה הוּא** *(thou art the same)*; 1 Chron. 21, 17; comp. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous*. Of a different kind however are cases like: **אַתָּה**

מֶלֶכִּי *thou art my king* Ps. 44, 5, where הוּא at the same time points to the predicate and makes it prominent (prop. *thou art he, my king*); comp. Is. 43, 25, Neh. 9, 6, 7, and in Aram. Ezr. 5, 11.

3. To the general rule (§ 33, 1), that the *separate pronouns* are in the *nominative* and the *suffixes* in the *oblique cases*, there is but one seeming exception, viz. when the personal pronoun in an oblique case is to be repeated for the sake of emphasis (*me, me; thy, thy*), it is expressed the second time by the separate form of the same person. But this stands by no means in the oblique case, but is to be considered as the subject of an independent phrase, whose predicate may be completed from the connection. Thus to strengthen the *accusative* suffix of the verb, Gen. 27, 34 בְּרַכְנִי גַם אֲנִי *bless me, even me, really: also I want to be blest*, comp. Zech. 7, 4, Prov. 22, 19; and even by placing the separate pronoun before, Gen. 49, 8; more frequently to strengthen the *genitive* suffix of the noun, e. g. אֶת־דָּמְךָ גַם אֶתֶּה *thy blood, yea thine* (prop. *sanguinem tui, utique tui*), Num. 14, 32, 1 Sam. 20, 42, Ez. 34, 11, Prov. 23, 15, Ps. 9, 7. In the same way the separate pronoun may strengthen a suffix which is governed by a preposition (i. e. standing in the genitive, according to § 101, 1), as Hag. 1, 4 לָכֶם אֲתָם *for you, you*, 1 Sam. 25, 24 בִּי אֲנִי *in me, me*, 1 Sam. 19, 23 הוּא גַם עָלָיו *also on him*; 2 Chr. 35, 21 לֹא עָלֶיךָ אֶתֶּה *not against thee*. On the same principle is to be explained Gen. 4, 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם הוּא *to Seth, even to him*, (not גַּם־לּוֹ) Gen. 10, 21.

4. The *suffix to the verb* is properly always in the *accusative* (§ 33, 2, a, § 57), and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun governed by a verb (see however Rem. below). In certain cases, however, it is used through an almost inaccurate brevity of expression for the *dative*, as Zech. 7, 5 הֲצַמְתִּי *did ye fast for me?* i. e. to my advantage, for הֲצַמְתָּם לִי; Job 31, 18 גִּדְּלִי כְּאֵב *he (the fatherless) grew up to me as to a father*, Is. 44, 21, Ez. 29, 3, comp. verse 9.

Rem. The accusative of the pronoun *must* be indicated by אֲרָ (§ 117, 2),—a) when the pronoun, for the sake of emphasis, precedes

the verb, as אָרָבָהּ הָיִיתָ *thee had I killed* Num. 22, 33;—b) when the verb has two pronouns in the accusative, only one of which can be a verbal suffix, as וְרָאִיתִי אֹתוֹ *and he will make me see it* 2 Sam. 15, 25; it is found, also in other cases, as in Gen. 4, 14, (where וְלֹא יָדָע alone might signify: *that he might not smite*) 15, 13.

5. The suffix to nouns, which are properly *genitives* (§ 33, 2, b) and supply the place of *possessive pronouns*¹, express, like nouns in the genitive (§ 114, 2), not only the subject but also the object; e. g. הָמָסִי *my wrong* (i. e. done to me) Jer. 51, 35, Gen. 16, 5, Job 20, 29, 23, 14 and 34, 6, יִרְאָו *his fear* (i. e. caused by him) Ex. 20, 20.

6. When one noun in the *constr. st.* is so connected with another in the genitive, as together to express periphrastically an adjective by means of the second substantive (§ 106, 1) then the suffix which really refers to this complex idea is appended to the second of the two nouns (compare the analogous position of the article, § 111, 1), e. g. הַר קָדְשִׁי *the mount of my holiness*, i. e. *my holy mount*, עִיר קָדְשָׁהּ *the city of thy holiness* (i. e. *thy holy city*) Dan. 9, 24, אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *his silver idols* Is. 2, 20, 31, 7, צַעְדֵּי אֹרֹךְ *his firm steps* Job 18, 7.

Only seeming exceptions are constructions like מַדְרֵגָה וְזָנָה in Ez. 16, 27 *thy conduct*, (thy) *lewdness*, or *thy conduct in lewdness* (זָנָה וְזָנָה being in apposition or in adverbial accusative), Ps. 35, 19 אֹיְבֵי שֶׁקֶר *my enemies for a falsehood* i. e. *without real cause* (שֶׁקֶר adverb. acc., cf. הָנָם שָׁנְאִי in parallel clause). Comp. Ps. 71, 7, 2 Sam. 22, 33, Prov. 23, 29.

Rem. 1. Through a certain inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language to that of books, *masculine* pronouns are sometimes used in reference to *feminine* substantives, Gen. 31, 9; 32, 16; 41, 23, Exod. 1, 21; Amos 4, 1 (comp. in regard to the masc. as the more common gender, § 107, 1, Rem.).

2. The accusative of the pronoun, as object of the verb, is often omitted, where it can be easily supplied from the context, specially the accusative *it*, after verbs of saying as וַיֹּסֶף *and he told (it)* Gen. 9, 22; but also after other verbs, e. g. Gen. 38, 17 *till thou send (it)*, 24, 12 *let (it) meet me*.

¹ The possessive pronoun may be expressed by circumlocation, after the manner of the Aramæan, as in Ruth 2, 21 הַיְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the youths who (are) to me*, i. e. *my servants*; especially after a substantive, which is followed by another in the genitive, as in 1 Sam. 17, 40 (comp. the analogous circumlocation for the genitive, § 115).—In this case there is sometimes a pleonastic use of the suffix, as מִשְׁכָּנוֹ שֶׁלֹּאֵלֶימָהּ *prop. his palanquin, Solomon's*, Cant. 3, 7, comp. 1. 6.

3. There is, on the contrary, a redundancy of expression, when the noun, for which the pronoun stands, is itself employed in apposition after it, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child*, 1 Sam. 21, 14, Prov. 5, 22. Similar are the cases in which, to a nominal suffix is joined its corresponding substantive (with or without the article) as an explaining permutative, e. g. Ez. 10, 3 *כְּבֹאֵן הָאִישׁ when he went in, the man*, Is. 17, 6, Prov. 13, 4; 14, 13. So also Gen. 2, 19 *וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה לַחַיִּים . . . לֵאמֹר to them, the living creatures*; and with repetition of the preposition Josh. 1, 2. Of another kind are the cases where the permutative with its own suffix is, in a certain way, a correction to the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. 29, 23: *when he, or rather, his children see*; comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

4. In some instances the force of the nominal suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak, that it has almost ceased to be felt; e. g. אֲדֹנָי *my Lord* (prop. *my lords*, see § 108, 2, b), namely in addressing God (Gen. 15, 2, 18, 3, Ps. 35, 23), but then without regard to the pronominal suffix, *the Lord*, meaning God¹ (always with *Qāmēš* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי *my Lord*, yet never,—on account of its original signification,—with the article). A similar rigidity of the suffix signification is seen in יַחְדָּו (prop. *his or its conjunctions=he, it together*), e. g. כִּלְיֵהֶם יַחְדָּו Ex. 19, 8, then even after the *first* person, without regard to the suffix, as אֶתְּחַדְּתִי יַחְדָּו 1 K. 3, 18, comp. Is. 41, 1, after the *second* person in Is. 45, 20. Thus we find in 1 K. 22, 28, Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye nations* קְלָלָם; and sometimes even by placing קְלָלָם before, Job 17, 10.

§ 122.

OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The *personal* pronoun of the third person *הוּא*, *fem. הִיא*, *plur. הֵמָּה*, *fem. הֵנָּה* (L. *is, ea, id or ille etc.; ii, ea, ea or illi etc.*) is also used as a *demonstrative pronoun*. In connection with a definite substantive it has then (by virtue of its adjectival use, § 111, 2) regularly the article (see exceptions § 111, 2, b), *הָאִישׁ הַהוּא that man*, *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא in that day* (on the other hand: *הוּא הַדָּבָר this is the word, which etc.* Gen. 41, 28). — *הוּא* stands sometimes almost *enclitic*, to emphasize the interrogative pronoun (like *זה* No. 2, Rem.) e. g. *מִי הוּא זֶה who indeed is this king of glory?* Ps. 24, 10.

¹ See *Gesenii Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae*, p. 329. Comp. the Phœnician name of the idol *Adonis* (אֲדֹנִי), also the French *Monsieur, Monseigneur, Notre Dame*, Eng. *Our Lady* (the virgin Mary).

The demonstrative **זֶה** is to be distinguished from **זוּ**; for **זֶה**=**ὁδε**, **L. hic**, always points to a (fresh) person or thing present, but **זוּ**=**αὐτός**, *is, ille, ἐκεῖνος* indicates (like the article, § 109) a person or thing already mentioned or known. The distinction is clearly seen in Judges 7, 4, *of whom I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall go with thee“, that one (זוּ) shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall not go with thee“, that one (זוּ) shall not go.* Hence **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *this day*, means the day in which any one speaks or writes (Gen. 28, 33), but **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *(that day)* means the day or time, of which the historian has just made mention (Gen. 15, 18, 26, 32), or the prophet just predicted (Is. 5, 30, 7, 18, 20), and goes on to relate or to predict.

2. The demonstrative **זֶה** (also **זוּ**, **זוֹ**) occurs in poetical speech, also (**זוּ** even habitually) for the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, as in English *that* for *which*; e. g. Prov. 23, 22 *hearken to thy father זֶה יִלְדָּהּ that begat thee*; Ps. 104, 8 *to the place זֶה יִסְדָּרָהּ לָהֶם which (prop. this which) thou hast appointed for them.* **זֶה** may in such a case be still more nearly defined by a following pronominal suffix (like **אֲשֶׁר**, § 123, 1); e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *Mount Zion בּוֹ זֶה שָׁכְנָתָהּ in which thou dwellest (prop. this thou dwellest in it.* Comp. Luther's *da du auf wohnest*); for the plural, Job 19, 19.

The Aram. **זֶה**, **זוּ**, which corresponds in sound to **זֶה** is always relative.

זֶה is used adverbially,—a) in reference to place, *there*, Ps. 104, 25 **זֶה הַיָּם** *the sea there*; **זֶה רָאָהּ** *see there!*—b) in reference to time, for *now*, as **זֶה שְׁנַיִם** *now (already) twice* Gen. 27, 36, Zech. 7, 3 **זֶה עָתָה** *by this time*; c) to emphasize words of interrogation of all kinds e. g. **מִי זֶה** Job 38, 2: *who darkeneth there . . .*, **מִי זֶה** (also **מִי זֶה** Gen. 12, 18) *what there?*, Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that?* (Judges 18, 24); **זֶה לָמָּד** *why then?*; comp. also Gen. 27, 21 **הֲאֵתָהּ זֶה** *whether thou be my son Esau or not.* (Analogous to the **מִי זֶה** etc. is the enclitic use of *nam in quisnam*; comp. likewise *quis tandem*).

3. The interrogative **מִי** *who?* is used in reference to persons (male or female Cant. 3, 6), to a singular or to a plural, as **מִי אַתֶּם** *who are ye* Josh. 9, 8, **מִי אַלֶּה** Gen. 33, 5, Num. 22, 9 (for which, however, **מִי רָמִי** is also used in Ex. 10, 8), also in reference to things, yet only when the idea of persons is implied, e. g. **מִי שְׁכֵם** *who are the Shechemites?* Judg. 9, 28, 13, 17; comp. Gen. 33, 8, and already bolder, with the repetition of a personally used **מִי** 1 Sam. 18, 18, 2 Sam. 7, 18.—**מִי** may also stand in the genitive, as **בַּת מִי אֵת** *whose daughter*

art thou? Gen. 24, 23, 1 Sam. 17, 55, 56, 58, *מי דבר* *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28, 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, as *אֶחָד־מִי* *whom?* 1 Sam. 28, 11, Is. 6, 8; and with prepositions, as *בְּמִי* 1 K. 20, 14; *לְמִי* Gen. 32, 18, *אֶחָרֵי מִי* 1 Sam. 24, 15.—*מֶה*, *מָה* *what?* stands as nominative and as accusative (see examples in § 37), as genitive (Jer. 8, 9), with prep. e. g. *עַל־מָה* *upon what?* Job 38, 6; *עַד־מָה* *till when?* Ps. 74, 9.—Both *מי* and *מָה* stand in a direct and in an indirect question (according to the Ind.-Germ. logic of the language, for acc. to the Semitic that distinction does not exist) and at times also as *indefinite* pronouns *whoever* and *whatever* (Lat. *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), as in Judg. 7, 3, 2 Sam. 18, 12, *מי* placed after = *whoever it be*; likewise *מָה* = *anything else* Job 13, 13, 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23, comp. *דְּבַר מָה* Num. 23, 3 *whatever*. For the neuter *quidquam, anything whatever*, the language has besides the word *מֵאֲמָרָה*.

§ 123.

RELATIVE PRONOUN AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. The indeclinable *אֲשֶׁר*¹ often serves merely as a *sign of relation*, i. e. to give a relative sense to adverbs or pronouns; e. g. *שָׁם* *there*, *אֲשֶׁר—שָׁם* *where*; *שָׁמָּה* *thither*, *אֲשֶׁר—שָׁמָּה* *whither*; *מִשָּׁם* *thence*, *אֲשֶׁר—מִשָּׁם* *whence*. In the same manner, the Hebrew mostly forms the *oblique cases* of the relative pronoun, *who, which*, viz.—

Dative, *לֹו* *to him*, *אֲשֶׁר לֹו* *to whom*; *לָהֶם* *to them*, *אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם* *to whom*.

Accusative, *אֹתוֹ*, *אֶתָּה* *him, her*; *אֲשֶׁר אֹתוֹ* *whom*.

With *prepositions*, *בּוֹ* *in him* or *in it*, *אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ* *wherein*, *מִמֶּנּוּ* *from him* or *from it*, *אֲשֶׁר מִמֶּנּוּ* *wherefrom*.

¹ *אֲשֶׁר* is probably a substantive (comp. Arab. *'atar*, Aram. *אַתָּר* *trace, place*; according to others it is really a demonstrative, or a composition from several pronominal roots. Comp. *Sperling* „Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen“ Lpz. 1876), but at present it serves as *Nota relationis*, or (as sometimes also *וְיָה*, § 122, 2) directly a *relative pronoun*, often even including the demonstrative (v. No. 2). By virtue of its original sign character (as simple *nota relationis*) *אֲשֶׁר* may relate to persons as well as to things.

Genitive, אֲשֶׁר לְשׁוֹנוֹ whose language Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *whom*, (Lat. *quem, quam*) may, however, be expressed by אֲשֶׁר alone, as in Gen. 2, 2.

Rem. 1. The Hebrew is able in this way, to give a relative sense to the pronoun of the first and second persons in the oblique cases; e. g. Gen. 45, 4 אֲשֶׁר אָרִיר אֲשֶׁר אֶחָד, Num. 22, 30 אֲשֶׁר עָלִי, Is. 41, 8 אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתָּ (thou) *whom I have chosen*, Hos. 14, 4. In the nom. of the 1st and 2nd persons, this is admissible also in German, e. g. *der ich, der du, die wir*, where *der* stands for *welcher*, and (like the Heb. אֲשֶׁר) receives its definite sense from the following pronoun.

2. The word אֲשֶׁר is commonly separated by one or more words, from the pronoun or adverb to which it gives a relative sense, as אֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם *where was* Gen. 18, 3. Only seldom are they written closely together, as in Deut. 19, 17, 2 Ch. 6, 11.

2. The pronoun אֲשֶׁר often includes the demonstrative which in our construction precedes the relative as *who* for *he* *who* or as *qui* in Lat. stands for *is qui*; e. g. Num. 22, 6 רֵאשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר וְהָאֵר (he) *whom thou cursest*, Is. 52, 15 אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמְעוּ (that) *which they have not heard*. This is almost always the case where a preposition stands before אֲשֶׁר, the preposition being then construed with the supplied pronoun, and the relative taking the case which is required by the following part of the sentence; e. g. לְאֲשֶׁר (Lat. *ei qui, quæ, quod, or ei quem, quam, etc., and iis qui, quæ, quæ, etc.*) *to him who, or to them who*; מֵאֲשֶׁר *from him who, from those who or which*; כְּאֲשֶׁר prop. *according to that which*; but also according to the circumstance that, hence: *as just as* (as conjunction before the verb at the head of comparative clauses, § 155, 2, h); אֲדָר אֲשֶׁר *him, her who, that which, or those who*,¹ comp. finally, cases like בְּיַד אֲשֶׁר *in the hand of him, whom* (thou hatest), Ez. 23, 28.

To the relative sense lying in אֲשֶׁר sometimes the idea of place or time is also to be supplied; as בְּאֲשֶׁר *in* (that place) *where*; מֵאֲשֶׁר *from* (that time) *when*. On אֲשֶׁר as conj. v. 155, I, e.

3. In all the cases treated under No. 1 and 2 the relative can be expressed also, without אֲשֶׁר by a simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause (comp. the English,

¹ Very rare are the examples in which a preposition is connected immediately with אֲשֶׁר as a relative pronoun, viz. עִם אֲשֶׁר Gen. 31, 32 (Sept. παρ' ᾧ) for אֲשֶׁר עִמוֹ *with whom* (44, 9, 10); בְּאֲשֶׁר Is. 47, 12, for בְּרָם אֲשֶׁר *in which*.

the friend I met, the book I told you of). This omission (most frequent in poetry) takes place, when the **אֲשֶׁר** would stand,—

- a) As a pronoun in the nominative or accusative; e. g. Gen. 15, 13 **לָהֶם לֹא בְּאֶרֶץ** *in a land (which belongs) not to them*, Ps. 7, 16 **וַיִּפֹּל בְּשֹׁחַת וַיַּעַל** *and he falls into the pit (which) he makes*, Gen. 39, 4 **כָּל-יִשְׁרָאֵל** *all (which) was i. e. belonged to him* (comp. vs. 5, where **אֲשֶׁר** is inserted), Ec. 10, 5 (comp. 6, 1, where with the same words **אֲשֶׁר** is employed), Job 31, 12.¹
- b) As a sign of relation, e. g. Ps. 32, 2 **לֵאמֹר** *happy the man, to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity*, Job 3, 3, Ex. 18, 20, Is. 41, 2, 3, Ps. 49, 14. Frequently in specifications of time, when it would mean *when*, 2 Ch. 29, 27 **בְּעֵת הַחֵל הַעֲלֹה** *at the time (when) the sacrifice began*, Jer. 36, 2 **מִיּוֹם דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ** *from the day (when) I spoke to thee*, Ps. 4, 8 **זֶת דִּגְנָם וְחִירוֹשָׁם רַבִּי** *in the time (when) their corn and their new wine are abundant*, Ps. 49, 6, 56, 10 **בְּיוֹם אֶקְרָא** *in the day (when) I call*, in v. 4 **יוֹם אֶיִּירָא** *the day (when) I fear*, Ex. 6, 28 **בְּיוֹם דִּבַּר יְהוָה** *in the day (when) the Lord spoke*; Ps. 18, 1; with the utmost brevity in Is. 51, 1 **הַצִּבְּתָם** *(from which) ye were hewn*.
- c) Also as including the antecedent personal or demonstrative pronoun (No. 2); e. g. Is. 41, 24 **הוֹעִיבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם** *an abomination (is) he who chooses you*, Job 30, 13 **לָהֶם** *(they) to whom there is no helper*, Job 24, 19 **שְׁהוֹל** *(snatches away) (those who) sin*, comp. v. 9. The pronoun thus omitted may include the idea of place or time, as 1 Ch. 15, 12 **אֶל-הַכִּינֹוֹתַי** *to (the place which) I have prepared for it* (comp. however Ex. 23, 20); Job 38, 19.

Rem. 1. The substantive governing such a simply subordinate relative clause may, as with **אֲשֶׁר** (No. 2 at the end) stand in the *constr. st.* so that the relative clause stands virtually in the genitive e. g. Ex.

¹ The Arabic omits the relative when the substantive to which it refers is indefinite, as above; but inserts it when the substantive is definite. In the latter case, the Hebrew commonly inserts it in prose (see Jer. 23, 29, Ex. 14, 13); though it is sometimes omitted (Ex. 18, 20), especially in poetry (Ps. 18, 3, 49, 13, 21, Deut. 32, 17, Job 3, 3).

4, 13 בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלֶחַ *by the hand* (of him whom) *thou wilt send*, Hos. 1, 2 הַחֵלֶת הַדְּבָרִים הַהֵם *the beginning* (of that which) *God spoke*, Ps. 81, 6 שָׁמַעְתִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *the speech* (of one whom) *I knew not* 65, 5, Job 29, 16, Lam. 1, 14, Jer. 48, 36. Comp. § 116, 3.

2. Relative clauses are joined on also by means of the *copula* (וְ), e. g. Job 29, 12 הָיָה עֹרֵר לִי וְלֹא עֹזֵר וְלֹא עֹזֵר *and he that hath no helper*, if it ought not to be translated: *and the thus helper-less orphan*; comp. Ps. 72, 12.

§ 124.

HOW TO EXPRESS THOSE PRONOUNS FOR WHICH THE HEBREW TONGUE HAD NO PROPER FORMS.

1. The *reflexive pronoun*, *se*, *sibi*, *myself*, *thyself*, *himself*, etc., is expressed,

a) by the conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpāl'*, see § 51, 2, § 54, 3;

b) by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. (specially after prepositions),¹ e. g. Judg. 3, 16 וַיַּעַשׂ לֹו אֶהְדֵּד הָרֶבֶד *and Ehud made for him (himself) a sword*, Gen. 22, 3 אַבְרָהָם took two of his servants אִתּוֹ *with him* i. e. *with himself*, Gen. 8, 9 (אִתָּהּ), 33, 17, 1 Sam. 1, 24 she took him up עִמָּה *with her*, for *with herself*; Jer. 7, 19 אֹתָם *themselves*, Ez. 34, 2, 8, 10; also apparently pleonastic as a so-called *Dativus ethicus* Job 12, 11; 13, 1.—In the like manner is the pronoun *suus*, *sua*, *suum* expressed by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. with the noun, since כִּסְוֵי signifies either *equus suus* (prop. *sui*, genit.) or *equus ejus*;

c) partly by suffixes, אֹתִי, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָם (comp. under *b* above). partly by circumlocution with substantives, especially נַפְשִׁי, e. g. Job 21, 16 לֹא אֶדְעֵה נַפְשִׁי *I know not myself* (prop. *my soul*) Job 9, 21, Jer. 37, 9; בְּקִרְבָּהּ *within herself* (prop. *in her inner part*) Gen. 18, 12. Comp. Rem. 3.

As קָרִיב in the last example, so also נַפְשִׁי is nowhere (not even Is. 46, 2 נַפְשָׁם *themselves*) a merely idle circumlocution, but points towards the mental substratum of the personality, which is affected by the actions, thoughts, etc. springing from it. The Arabic, in a similar manner, expresses the idea *self* by *soul*, *spirit*, and so the Sanskrit

¹ So also often in Luther's Bible, where *ihm*, *ihr*, stand for *sich*, and in the English Bible, where *him*, *her* stand for *himself*, *herself*.

(*âtman*); the Arabic also by *eye*; the Rabbinic by עֵינָם, v. below Rem. 3, עֵינָם *bone*, גִּידָם *body*; the Ethiop. and Amharic by ראש *head*; the Egyptian by *mouth, hand*, etc. Comp. middle High German *mîn lip, dîn lip*.

2. The *personal* or *demonstrative* pronoun is generally included (comp. § 123, 2) in אִשֶּׁר in all the cases, both singular and plural. The use of the interrogative מֶה with a similar sense is based on a further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מֶה (§ 122, 3 at the end) and is already more like the Aramaic, as מֶה-הַ that *which* Ec. 1, 9, 3, 15 (Syr. מַהָּ).

Rem. 1. *Each, every one*, with reference to a person, (and even to animals Gen. 15, 10) is expressed by אִישׁ *a man* Gen. 42, 25, Num. 17, 17, sometimes repeated אִישׁ אִישׁ Ex. 36, 4, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 67, 5; with reference either to persons or things, by כָּל (§ 111, 1); by repetition of the substantive as בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר *every morning*; also by the plural לְבֹקֶרִים *every morning* Ps. 73, 14, Job 7, 18 (with so-called *distributive*).

2. *Any one, some one*, is expressed by אִישׁ Ex. 16, 29, Cant. 8, 7; and by אֶחָד Lev. 1, 2; *anything, something* (especially in connection with a negation) by דָּבָר, קִלְדִּבָּר without the article, Gen. 18, 14; Lev. 5, 2; Num. 31, 23; after a negative Gen. 19, 8; Eccl. 8, 5; comp. אִין-דִּבָּר Num. 20, 19=*nothing*. Comp. also § 122, 3.

3. *Self* is expressed (besides the way in No. 1, c, above), in reference to persons or things, by הוּא, הִיא, as הוּא הוּא the *Lord he*, i. e. the *Lord himself* Is. 7, 14, הֵמָּה הֵמָּה the *Jews themselves* Est. 9, 1.—*The same* is הוּא, הִיא with the article; e. g. הַאִישׁ הַזֶּה Job 1, 1 *the same man*, בְּעֵת הַזֶּה at *the same time* (but this signifies also *that man, at that time*, comp. § 122, 1). In reference to things the noun עֶצֶם prop. *bone, body* (in this case fig. for *essence, substance*) is also employed as a periphrasis for the pronoun; e. g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה on *the self-same day* Gen. 7, 13, Josh. 10, 27, Ez. 24, 2, Ex. 24, 10 הַשָּׁמַיִם as *the very heavens*, בְּעֵצֶם הַזֶּה in *his very prosperity* (i. e. in the midst of his prosperity) Job 21, 23.

4. *The one—the other* (*alter—alter*) is expressed by repeating הוּא (Is. 6, 3) or אֶחָד (2 Sam. 14, 6, cf. 1 Sam. 14, 10), or by אִישׁ one with אָחִיו *his brother* or with רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*; and where the feminine is required, by אִשָּׁה *woman* with אָחִיהָ *her sister* or רֵעִיהָ *her friend*; both the *masc.* and *fem.* forms are used also with reference to inanimate things. See the Lex. under these words. The same form is used to express *one another*, as Gen. 13, 11 and *they separated* אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *the one from the other* (i. e. *from one another*), Ex. 26, 3 *five curtains shall be joined* אֶל-אֶחָדָהּ *to one another*.

5. *Some* is often expressed simply by the plural form, as יָמִים *some days* Gen. 24, 55; 40, 4, Is. 65, 20, Dan. 8, 27; שָׁנִים *some years* Dan. 11, 6, 8; and sometimes by אִשֶּׁר יֵשׁ (ἐστὶν=εἰσὶν οἱ, L. *sunt qui*) Neh. 5, 2—4, or by אֶחָדִים Gen. 27, 44.

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

§ 125.

USE OF THE TENSES IN GENERAL.¹

From the poverty of the Hebrew language in the means of expressing the absolute and relative divisions of time (§§ 40, 48), we may naturally expect some *vagueness* in their use.

We are not to infer from this, however, that there was scarcely any well-defined and regular use of the two existing tenses; on the contrary, each of them has its distinct sphere, as already intimated in Note² on page 118, and as will be explained more in detail in the following sections. Besides this the Imperfect is especially used in a modified form (see § 48) for expressing the relations of the Optative, the Jussive, and the Subjunctive (v. § 128). We must further add the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction already mentioned in § 49, viz. that of joining by means of *Wāw consecutive*, Imperfects to a Perfect and Perfects to an Imperfect (§ 126, 6, § 129).

As examples where the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* stand in plainly expressed opposition of time, we refer to Josh. 1, 5 בְּאֶחָד הַיָּמִים הָיָה אִתִּי מֹשֶׁה *as I was with Moses* (so) *will I be with thee* v. 17; Is. 46, 4 אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי וְאֲנִי אֶעֱשֶׂה *I have done it, and I will (still) bear (you), and* v. 11 דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר אֶעֱשֶׂה וְעַתָּה אֶבְרָא *I have spoken it, and will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and will accomplish it;* Ex. 10, 14, Deut. 32, 21, 1 K. 2, 38, Joel 2, 2, Ec. 1, 9.

¹ Comp. *Driver*, A Treatise on the use of the tenses in Hebrew (Oxf. 1874), with the criticism on it by A. Müller in the Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol. 1877, I, S. 198 ff.

§ 126.

THE USE OF THE PERFECT.

The Perfect stands—

1. In itself and properly, for *absolutely* and *fully* past time (*Præteritum perfectum*), e. g. Gen. 40, 8 חָלַמְנָהּ *we have dreamed a dream*, Gen. 3, 10, 11 מִי הֵגִיד לְךָ *who has declared to thee?* v. 13 *why hast thou done this?* Comp. verses 14, 17, 22. Hence it is used in reports and narrations of past things, Job 1, 1 וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא . . . וְהָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ עֹז *there was a man in the land of Uz . . . and this man was*, etc., v. 4 *and they went* (וְהָלְכָה) . . . *and made* (וַעֲשֶׂה) *a feast*; Dan. 2, 1 *in the 2d year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed* (חָלַם) *dreams*, Ruth 4, 7, Judg. 6, 3.

In this narrative style, the Perfect is commonly followed by the Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive*, see § 129, 1.

2. For an action completed in the past (the *Pluperfect*). So especially (as a matter of course) in relative clauses preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past (*perfect* or *imperfect consecutive*) the *Pluperfect*, e. g. Gen. 2, 2 *and he rested* עָשָׂה אֲשֶׁר מִכָּל-מְלָאכְתּוֹ *from all his work which he had done*, v. 5 *the Lord had not yet caused it to rain* 7, 9, 19, 27, 20, 18, 27, 30, 29, 10, 31, 19, 1 Sam. 6, 19.

3. For our abstract *Present*, where this denotes,—a) a condition or attribute already long continued and still now existing, as יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have discerned*) Job 9, 2, 10, 13; לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gen. 4, 9 (yet also, acc. to No. 2, with a reference to the past, *I knew not* Num. 22, 34); שָׂנְאֵתִי *I hate*¹ Ps. 31, 7; צַדִּיקָתִי *I am righteous* Job 34, 5; גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; קְטַנּוּתִי *I am little* Gen. 32, 11; or—b) a past but still ever recurring action (often in statements of general experience) e. g. אֹמְרָתִי *I say* (*I mean*) Ps. 31, 15, Job 7, 13; Ps. 1, 1 *happy the man who walks* (הֹלֵךְ) *not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands* (עֹמֵד) *in the way of sinners, nor sits* (יֹשֵׁב) *in the seat of scorers*. 10, 3, 119, 40;—c) a present

¹ Similar in Latin are *novi, memini, odi*; in Greek οἶδα, μέμνημαι, δέδορκα, οἶσα, τέλερα, etc., in N. Test. ἤλπινα, ἠγάπηκα.

action to which the idea of firm assurance is attached (comp. No. 4 below) e. g. *נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי* *I swear* Jer. 22, 5, *הִרְמֵזְתִּי* *I raise* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22.

Here (in the sphere of our Present) the Perfect and the Imperfect meet together and are used with equal propriety, according as the speaker views the action or state expressed by the verb as already existing before, but still continuing or perhaps just now ended, or as then first about coming to pass, in progress, or perhaps occurring at the instant (comp. § 127, 2). Accordingly, we find in nearly the same sense *לֹא רָלַחְתִּי* (Ps. 40, 13) and *לֹא אֶכַּל* (Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35). In such cases the two tenses often stand side by side as interchangeable, e. g. Is. 5, 12, Prov. 1, 22, Job 3, 17, 18.

4. Even for our *Future*, in *protestations* and *assurances*, in which the mind of the speaker views the action as already accomplished, being as good as done. In German and English the Present is often used, in this case, for the Future. So in stipulations or promises in the way of a contract, Gen. 23, 11 *I give* (*נָתַתִּי*) *to thee the field*, v. 13 *I give* (*נָתַתִּי*) *money for the field*; particularly in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29, 15, 18, 17, 20. Also in confident discourse (*Perfectum confidentiae*) especially when God is said to be about to do something (with reference to the divine counsel, where it is already present as an accomplished fact), e. g. *פְּרִיחָה אוֹתִי יְהוָה* *thou deliverest me, O Lord* (Ps. 31, 6); hence frequently used in lively representations of the future, and in *prophecies* (*Perfectum propheticum*), e. g. Is. 9, 1 *the people who walk in darkness see* (*רָאִי*) *a great light*, 5, 13 *therefore my people goes into captivity* (*גָּלוּ*).

The Arabs likewise employ the Perfect, generally made still stronger by the particle *כִּי*, in emphatic promises, etc. They say, *I have already given it to thee*, meaning, it is as good as done.¹—A similar usage is that of the Lat. *perii*, Gr. ὤλωλα, διέφθορας II. 15, 128.

¹ The assurance that something will happen, can also serve to express the wish that something may happen. So Gen. 40, 14 *וְעָשִׂיתִי נִימָה עִמָּדִי וְהָיִיתִי לְךָ כְּרֵעַ* *and do thou a kindness, I pray, with me* (prop. thou surely dost kindness with me, I hope), *and make mention of me to Pharaoh*. The addition of *נָא* makes this sense of the Perf. here unquestionable. In Arabic, likewise, the Perf. is employed in wishes and obtestations. In Heb. further, Job 21, 16 *הַתְּחִלָּה יָצָא מִן־הַבֵּרֶךְ הַזֶּה וְעַתָּה יִשְׁלַח מִן־הַבֵּרֶךְ הַזֶּה* *the counsel of the wicked be far from me!* 22, 18. Comp. the use of the Perfect consecutive when following the Imperative, in No. 6, c.

5. For the so-called *relative tenses*, in which the past is the principal idea, viz.—*a*) for the *Imperfect* or *Pluperfect subjunctive* (for which the *Imperfect* too can stand, § 127, 5), as in Is. 1, 9 *except the Lord of Hosts had left* (חֲדָרִיר) *unto us* לְעִמְרָה דְּמִינִי (הָיִינוּ) *as Sodom were we, to Gomorrah were we like*, Gen. 21, 7 מִי מָלַל *who would have said?* (Quis dixerit?); —*b*) Num. 14, 2 לֹא מָרָדָה לָנוּ *would that we had died!* (לָנוּ with the *Imperfect* would be, *would that we should die!* § 136, 2), Judg. 13, 23, 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הָיִינוּ) Job 3, 13, 10, 18, 19 לֹא הָיִיתִי כְּאִשֶּׁר I *should be as if I had not been*, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 12, *if I thought*, etc.;—*c*) for the *Future Perfect* (*futurum exactum*) e. g. Is. 4, 4 אִם רָחַץ *if he shall have washed away*, prop. *if he has washed away*, 6, 11.—Gen. 43, 14 כְּאִשֶּׁר שָׁכַלְתִּי שָׁכַלְתִּי *as I am bereaved* (for, if I shall be, *ubi orbus fuero*) *then I am bereaved* (the language of despondent resignation), Est. 4, 16.

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6. In all the foregoing cases we have considered the *Perfect* independently of logical connection with preceding verbs. Not less diversified however is the use of the so-called *perfectum consecutivum* which is joined to a preceding clause by וְ (Waw consecutive of the Perfect); it is then coordinate with another *perf. consec.*, or represents a consequence from such actions as have preceded in the *Imperfect* or any of its equivalents (*Imperative, Participle*). The consequence may be an immediate and necessary one (consecutive in the stricter sense) or merely external, based upon the simple succession of time (v. examples). On the distinction in the form of the *perf. consec.* through the shifting of the tone וְ. § 49, 3.

This exchange of the *perf.* with the *impf.* or its equivalents, and vice-versa, the *impf.* with the *perf.* is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum*. It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style, the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on, coming soon to a quiet stop in the perfect, and later again continuing anew. The regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker, viz. whether he considers an action as the logical consequence of the preceding one, or simply as coordinate. (In the latter case he would use the same tense).—The former custom of giving to the Waw

consecutive the designation of *Wāw conversive* (v. p. 118 Note 2) misinterprets the real nature of the Hebrew tenses. It is not the transformation of a preterite into a future, or vice-versa, but a logical sequence. Therefore a *perf. consec.* may belong to the sphere of *our* present or past (v. below, letter *d*).

The perfect consecutive represents:

a) Future actions or conditions as consequences of actions that have preceded in the imperfect (in the sense of our future), e. g. Gen. 24, 40 *the Lord will send his angel וְהֵצִילִיךָ בְּרַכָּהּ and prosper thy way* (prop. *and thus he prospers* = *that he may prosper*; comp. v. 7, *that thou mayest take*), Judges 6, 16, 1 Sam. 17, 32, Job 22, 30. Likewise after a *participle* (as equivalent to the imperfect) Gen. 41, 29 ff., 1 Kings 2, 2, Ruth 3, 2 ff.

b) Actions conceived as possibly occurring in the future (*conjunctions praesentis* or *imperfecti*) after imperfects of a similar signification, comp. § 127, 3; e. g. Gen 3, 22 *פָּן-יִשְׁלַח וְיִקַּח וְיֹאכַל lest he put forth his hand and take and eat* (prop. *and thus takes and eats*) 19, 19, 32, 12, Num. 15, 40, 2 Sam. 15, 4, Is. 6, 10, Ez. 14, 13, 14.

c) Commands in connection with a preceding *Imperative* and as a further sequence from the same, e. g. Gen. 6, 21 *וְאָסַפְתָּ . . . קַדְלֶךָ take for thyself . . . and gather* (prop. *and thou gatherest*) Gen. 27, 43, 44, 1 K. 2, 36. As with the announcement under letter *a*, so here the command passes over into a description of that which is to be done.

d) Present or past actions after *Imperfects* (or their equivalents) moving in that sphere of time, e. g. Gen. 2, 6, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 19, Amos 5, 19, Nahum 3, 12; after participles e. g. John 6, 13.

Rem. 1. The equivalent of an *Imperfect* which then is followed by a *Perf. consec.* may consist also in an abruptly stated expression of time, e. g. Ex. 16, 6, 7 *כִּרְבֹּב וַיִּדְעֻם at even* (prop. *when it will be even*) *ye shall know*, Ex. 17, 4 *עַד אֲסֻקֵּיךְ yet a little while* *they will stone me*, 1 Sam. 20, 18, 1 K. 2, 42, Ez. 39, 27, Prov. 24, 27.

The *Perf. consec.* stands likewise as logical sequence for our *fut.*, or in the sense of an *Imperative*, or *Optative* after antecedent clauses which imply,—*a*) a cause, or—*b*) a condition. Comp. for letter *a*, Num. 14, 24 *because another spirit is with him וְנִבִּיאֲתִי and (therefore) I will*

bring him; Gen. 20, 11 *there is no fear of God in the place* וְהָיָה לָהֶם (therefore) they will kill me (i. e. there is etc., so they kill me), 45, 12, 13, Ex. 6, 6. Comp. Ps. 25, 11 *for thy name's sake* וְשֵׁם יְהוָה so forgive (or thou wilt forgive). For letter *b*, Gen. 33, 10 *if I have found favour* וְלָקַחְתָּ then take; and without the conditional particle (§ 155, 4, a), Gen. 44, 22 *should he leave his father* וְיָמָּה then he (the father) would die, verses 28, 29; 33, 13, 42, 38, 1 K. 3, 14.—Also to other very various specifications of the present we find appended those of the future by means of וְ with the *Perf.* (e. g. Judg. 13, 8 *thou art barren* וְהָיָה לְךָ but thou shalt conceive and bear, 1 Sam. 9, 8 *here is the fourth part of a shekel* וְהָיָה וְאֶתְּנֶה and I give it), or commands and wishes (e. g. Ruth 3, 9 *I am Ruth* וְאֶתְּנֶה and spread thou), or also of interrogation (e. g. Ex. 5, 5 *the people are many in the land* וְהָיָה וְאַתָּה and will you let them rest? Gen. 29, 15, 1 Sam. 25, 10, 11).

2. A very frequent formula in prophetic language (like וְהָיָה and it came to pass in the historic style) is וְהָיָה and it will come to pass. This is found as well in coordination with other consecutive perfects, as after imperfects (or their equivalents, see Rem. 1), especially when a particular time is named, as Is. 7, 18 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְשָׁרַק.

§ 127.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT.

Although the signification of the Imperfect is almost more comprehensive still than that of the Perfect, yet the language has here a more definite expression for certain modal relations which lie in the sphere of the *Imperfect*, inasmuch as it has (as shown, in § 48) a shortened and a lengthened form of the Imperfect, the former as the *Jussive* and the latter as the *Cohortative* (see § 128). The *Wām consecutive* also has a very extensive and important influence on this tense (§ 129). Yet the shortening, as has been shown in treating of the verb (§ 48), is not obvious, at least orthographically, in all the forms; and in other respects, also, there is some uncertainty, so that the common form occurs occasionally in almost all the relations, for which the shortened form is especially designed.

The Imperfect forms, in general, the contrary of the Perfect, and expresses, accordingly, what is unfinished or just incoming, what is taking place and future, but also what re-

peatedly happens and is continued at any point of time, even of the past (see Note ² on p. 118).

Hence the Imperfect stands—

1. For *future time* simply Gen. 9, 11 לֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל there shall not again be a flood, Ex. 4, 1 הֵן לֹא־אֵמִינִי לְךָ וְלֹא הֵן לֹא־אֵמִינִי לְךָ lo! they will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say; etc.; Gen. 6, 1, 9, 5, 1 K. 1, 13, 24, 30 יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרַי he will (or shall) reign after me. Also in speaking of the future from some point of view in the past, as 2 K. 3, 27 the first-born who was to reign (*regnaturus erat*), Gen. 43, 25 they had heard that they should eat (יֹאכְלוּ) there, Ps. 78, 6 so that יִוָּלְדוּ בָנִים sons who (in the future) should be born (*qui nascituri essent*, at the same time with the secondary idea of an action repeated in the future) should know it. For *Fut. Perfect* only in connection with a *Perf.* in the same sense (§ 126, 5, b) Is. 4, 4, 6, 11.

2. For *present time* (very often), comp. § 126, 3, Rem. e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֵדָע I know not, Is. 1, 13 אֵיכָל לֹא I cannot bear, Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35, 37, 15 מַה־תִּבְקֹשׁ what seekest thou? Gen. 44, 7, Ex. 5, 15, 1 Sam. 1, 8, Ps. 1, 2, 3.—In almost all these examples the *Imperfect* presents at the same time an action lasting to the present; this idea of an action continuing or constantly recurring is still stronger when permanent facts are concerned which take place now and always shall take place, or generally recognized experiences, e. g. Gen. 43, 32 the Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews, Job 4, 17 is man just before God? 2, 4, Prov. 15, 20 בֶּן־חָכֶם יִשְׂמַח אָב a wise son gladdens a father; and very often so in Job and Proverbs. Comp. also the phrase לֹא־יִעָשֶׂה כֵּן it is not the custom to (must not) be done so (v. No. 4, d), Gen. 29, 26, 34, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 12. More rarely also the *perfect* stands in the above cases. § 126, 3, a, b.

In the same formula we find at one time the *Perfect* and at another the *Imperfect*, but not necessarily without difference of meaning, e. g. Job 1, 7 מֵאֵינָן תָּבֹא whence comest thou? (because here the coming is conceived as being still in its latest stadium; on the other hand) Gen. 18, 8 אֵי־מֶהָ תָּבֹא whence art thou come?

3. For a number of relations which in Latin are expressed by the *Subjunctive*, especially by the *Present Subjunctive*. In this way is expressed what is future or what is expected to occur, according to a subjective view such as the will of the individual or according to some other presupposition. It stands—

- a) For the Subjunctive in cases like Job 10, 18: אָנֹכִי *I should have given up the ghost*, etc.; vs. 19, אֶהְיֶה *I should have become*. Then frequently after particles signifying *that, that not (ut, ne)*, as אֲשֶׁר, specially לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר and לִמְעַן (without אֲשֶׁר), also יֵצֵן אֲשֶׁר *that, in order that*, thus in consecutive and final clauses;¹ e. g. Gen. 11, 7 יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand*, Num. 17, 5 לֹא יִקְרַב אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן *that there come not near*, Deut. 4, 1 לִמְעַן תֵּחִיֹּה *that ye may live*, Ps. 78, 6, Ez. 12, 12 יֵצֵן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵרְאֶה *that he see not*; and after אֲשֶׁר *that not, lest* e. g. Gen. 3, 22 פֶּן יִשְׁלַח יְדָיו *that not, lest* e. g. Lam. 1, 19 יִשְׁעוּ לָנֶפֶשׁ אֲדָרִי נִמְשָׁם *that they might sustain their life*.
- b) For the Optative. As a rule this is expressed by the *cohortative* (in the first person) or *Jussive* (2d and 3d person) § 128, 1, and to the latter word belong also all those examples in which the form of the *Jussive* is not distinguished from the usual form of the *Imperfect*. Sometimes the optative signification may be known then from the added particle נָא (§ 128, 1, 2); e. g. Ps. 7, 10 יִגְמְרֵנָּה *O that might cease*! Gen. 44, 18 יִדְבַּרְנָה עִבְדְּךָ *might thy servant speak*! i. e. *let me speak*, v. 33 יָשֹׁב־נָא *may he now abide*! Yet, at times, the full form is employed, even when the shortened one might have been possible, e. g. הִרְאֵה *let appear* Gen. 1, 9 (and so frequently with the Imperfects לָא, comp. 41, 34), תֵּשִׁירָה Prov. 22, 17.
- c) For the Imperative, as soon as it would have to be joined to a negation (which acc. to § 46, 1 is impossible), there-

¹ When these particles have causal signification, the Perfect takes the place of the Imperfect; e. g. יֵצֵן אֲשֶׁר *because* with the Perf. in Judg. 2, 20, אֲשֶׁר *because* in Gen. 34, 27.

² The particle נָא (§ 105) gives to the optative the force of a modest request. On its use with the first person, see § 128, 1.

fore to express negative commands (prohibitions) then *either* לֹא is joined with the pure imperfect in the sense of a certain expectation (comp. Ger. *das wirst du nicht thun!* "that wilt thou not do!" as the strongest form of command) therefore especially with divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב thou shalt (prop. wilt) not steal Ex. 20, 15 (also verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10); or אַל with the *Jussive* in the sense of disuasion or of deprecatory wish, or (with the third person) opinion that something ought not to occur, as אַל-תִּירָא fear not Gen. 46, 3. As in this example, so also elsewhere, the *Jussive* after אַל coincides frequently with the usual form of the Imperfect (comp. above, letter *b*); however also here occurs sometimes the shortened form after אַל especially after verbs (לִי) e. g. אַל-תִּעַשֶׂה 2 Sam. 13, 12; with the third person to express a negative wish Job 3, 9 אַל-יִרְאֶה; however also אַל-תִּבְרִיחַ Gen. 19, 17; אַל-יִדְרֹם Ps. 121, 3 (comp. § 128, 2, *b*).—Finally belong here the cases in which the *Impf.* in the 1st person expresses an obligation or necessity of the action as Job 9, 29 אֲנִי אֶעֱשֶׂה if I (needs must) be wicked; 12, 4 אֲזִיחָה comp. 8, 15, 19, 16.

d) For the so-called Potential, where we use *may, can, might, could, ought*, etc.; e. g. Gen. 2, 16 אַכֵּל הָאֵבֶל thou mayest surely eat, Gen. 3, 2, 3, Prov. 20, 9 מִי יֹאמֵר who can say? Gen. 43, 7 הֲיָדָע נָדָע could we really know? Gen. 20, 9 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה (deeds) that may (or should) not be done; comp. with this No. 2 above, at the end.

4. Even within the sphere of the *past* the Imperfect has scope; and it is so used chiefly in these cases:—

- a) After the particles *אָז then*,¹ בְּתָרָם *not yet*, בְּתָרָם *(in not yet) before*; e. g. Josh. 10, 12 אָז יִדְבֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ then spake Joshua, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 21, 17, 1 K. 3, 16, Gen. 2, 5 יְהִיָּה תָרָם there was not yet, 19, 4, 24, 45 (on the other hand, verse 15 *Perfect*) 1 Sam. 3, 7, everywhere in the sense of our *Pluperfect*; 37, 18 for our *Imperfect*; הִנֵּה בְּתָרָם before thou camest forth (*priusquam exires*) Jer. 1, 5 (compare the use

¹ After *אָז* signifying *then* in respect to future time, the Imperfect has the force of our Future (Ex. 12, 48, Ps. 2, 5).

of the Perf. and Impf. in the same sentence after **סָרַם** in 1 Sam. 3, 7).

- b) Often also of constantly repeated actions, of what is customary and habitual, like the Imperfect of the Latin and French. Repeated or customary action, as it involves the conception of something ever recurring or unfinished, is fitly expressed by the Imperfect; Job 1, 5 *thus did* (**וַיַּעַשׂ**) *Job continually*, 22, 6, 7, 29, 12, 13, Ex. 1, 12, Judg. 6, 4, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 1, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 18 *for so the king's daughters used to clothe themselves* (**וַתִּלְבַּשְׁתֶּיהָ**), 1 K. 5, 25, Ps. 42, 5, 78, 40, Job 23, 11. No less belong here cases where the *Impf.* represents the longer duration of an action in the past, etc., e. g. Gen. 2, 6: *there went up* (continually) *a mist* (**וַיִּעָלָה**); Judges 2, 1 (**וַאֲעָלָה**); Is. 6, 4 (**וַיִּמָּלֵא**); Ps. 32, 4 (**וַתִּכְבַּד**), 18, 31 (**וַאֲרִדֶּהָ**); Job 15, 8 (**וַתִּשְׁמַע**).
- c) Of momentary actions, where the Perfect might be expected. This takes place, especially in poetry, on the same principle as we employ the Present tense in lively representations of the past (v. above letter b), e. g. Is. 51, 2, Job 3, 3, 11, 4, 12, 15, 16, 10, 10, 11, 15, 7, Ps. 18, 7; in prose probably 1 K. 3, 4 (**וַיִּעָלָה**).

5. For the Lat. Imperfect (or Present) Subjunctive, especially in conditional sentences (the *modus conditionalis*), in both the protasis (antecedent clause) and the apodosis (consequent clause), or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 **נִם כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ אֶרְצֶה** *even if I should go I should not fear*, Job 5, 8 **אִם אֶצְדֵּק** *I would apply unto God* (were I in thy place), 9, 20 **אִם אֶצְדֵּק** *if I were just*, 3, 13, 16, 14, 14, 15, 23, 13, Ruth 1, 13 (after perfects in the antecedents, v. 12). However the imperfects of the examples will have to be taken in part as jussive forms. Comp. § 128, 2, c.

§ 128.

USE OF THE COHORTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

1. The Imperfect as lengthened by the ending **וְהָ** (the *Cohortative*, § 48, 3) is used almost exclusively in the first person; and is expressive of *resolve* or *endeavour*. Hence this form is employed,—

- a) to express excitement of one's self, or a determination, spoken with some degree of emphasis; Ps. 31, 8 **אֲנִלֶּה וְאֶשְׂמְחָה** *let me be glad and rejoice!* 2, 3. **נִתְקַחָה** (*come!*) *let us break asunder*, Gen. 11, 3. With less emphasis, in soliloquy and simple expressions of will; Ex. 3, 3 **אֶסְרֶהנָּא וְאֶרְאֶה** *I will turn aside now and see*, Gen. 18, 21, 32, 21;
- b) to express a wish, a request (for permission); Deut. 2, 27 **אֶעֱבְרָה** *let me pass through*, Num. 20, 17 **נִעְבְּרֶהנָּא** *let us, pray, pass through*;
- c) when a purpose is expressed, the tense being then commonly joined by וְ to a preceding Imperative; Gen. 27, 4 *bring it hither* **וְאֶכְלֶה** *and I will eat*=that I may eat, 29, 21, 42, 34, Deut. 32, 1, Job 10, 20, Ps. 2, 8, 39, 14;
- d) less frequently it stands in conditional sentences with *if, though*, expressed or implied, Job 6, 10, 16, 6 *though I speak . . . and (though) I forbear*; 11, 17, 19, 18, 30, 26, Ps. 139, 8; so perhaps also **אֶרְדֶּפָּה** 2 Sam. 22, 38: *when I pursued*, but comp. Ps. 18, 38;
- e) moreover, it stands, frequently after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2).

2. The shortened Imperfect (the *Jussive*, § 48, 4) stands principally,—

- a) in the expression of command, wish and request, as **הוֹצֵא** *proferat* Gen. 1, 24 (on the contrary, as Indicative **הוֹצִיא** *profert* Is. 61, 11), **יָקֻם** *stabiliat* Jer. 28, 6, Num. 6, 25, 26, Gen. 33, 9 **יְהִי לָּךְ** *be it to thee*, **יְהִי לִי** *utinam fiat* Gen. 30, 34; also joined to a preceding Imper. by וְ (comp. No. 1, c), as in Ps. 27, 14 **וְיָאֲמֹץ לְבָבְךָ** *take courage and let thy heart be strong*, Ex. 8, 4 **וְיִסַּר** *intreat the Lord and may he take away*=that he may take away, 10, 17, Judg. 6, 30, 1 Sam. 7, 3, 1 K. 21, 10, Prov. 20, 22, Est. 7, 2 **וְיֵהָרֵם** *and it shall be done*;
- b) with a negative in prohibition, etc. Generally after **אַל**, acc. to § 127, 3, c, e. g. **אַל תִּשְׂחָה** Ex. 23, 1; in the tone of entreaty: **אַל תִּשְׁבֵּךְ אֶת פְּנֶיךָ** *destroy not* Deut. 9, 26, **אַל תִּשְׁבֵּךְ אֶת פְּנֶיךָ** *turn not away my face* 1 K. 2, 20, Ps. 27, 9, 69, 18, or of warning, as **אַל תִּצְמַח** *let him not trust* Job 15, 31, **אַל תִּתְּהִי**

- be thou not* Prov. 3, 7; sometimes in the sense of a negative assurance, the contents being put as something that must not happen e. g. Is. 2, 9, Ps. 41, 3, 50, 3, 121, 3, Prov. 3, 3, 25, Job 5, 22, 20, 17. Rarely the *Jussive* stands also after לֹא (Gen. 24, 8, 1 K. 2, 6), the strict command as originally intended having been softened subsequently by the *Jussive* (for לֹא with the *Indic. Impf.*, comp. § 127, 3, c);
- c) frequently in conditional sentences (like the Arabic usage) in both the protasis and the apodosis (comp. § 127, 5); thus in Ps. 45, 12 (יִתְאָרֵץ *desires he . . . then*), 104, 20 (תִּשְׁתָּחֶה וְיִהְיֶה *settest thou darkness . . . then it becomes night*), Hos. 6, 1 (יִהְיֶה), Is. 41, 28 (וַיִּתְאָרֵץ), Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא-תִחַסֵּר), Ex. 7, 9 (יִהְיֶה), Lev. 15, 24 (יִהְיֶה . . . אִם), Job 10, 16, 13, 5, 22, 28.

Undoubtedly the use of the *Jussive* in conditional sentences is based on its original signification of volition: something may be so and so, then this and that must occur as consequence. Examples however as Job 9, 33: *there is no arbiter between us who may lay* (יִשֹּׁן being plainly a subject=*qui ponat*) show that in such cases the voluntative has been weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and thus the *Jussive* serves to express such facts as may *eventually* occur. To this must be added frequent cases where the *Jussive* stands without any secondary meaning instead of the usual *Imperfect* and this occurs not only in the place where a mistaking of the form may spring from the defective writing (Ps. 25, 9, 47, 4, Job 13, 27, 20, 23b, 27, 22) but also in shortened forms as יִהְיֶה Job 18, 12, 20, 23, 28 (יִהְיֶה). This use of the *Jussive* can hardly come from a poetical license, but rather from rhythmical reasons. All the above cited examples show the *Jussive* at the head of the sentence (i. e. the farthest removed from the principal tone), others immediately before the principal pause (Job 24, 14, 29, 3, 40, 19), even in the pause (Job 23, 9, 11) as a pure shortening of sound in consequence of the intense attraction of the tone.—Moreover as the *Jussive* in numerous cases does not differ from the usual form of the *Imperfect* (§ 48, 4. § 127, 3, b. c) it is frequently doubtful which of the two the author has intended.

§ 129.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), stands only in close connection with something preceding. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect*, and then goes

on in the *Imperfect* with *Wāw* consecutive; e. g. Gen. 4, 1 and Adam knew (יָדַע) Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare (וַתַּחַר וַתֵּלֶד) Cain, 6, 9, 10, etc., 10, 9, 10, 15, 19, 11, 12—15, 27, 28, 14, 5, etc., 15, 1, 2, 16, 1, 2, 21, 1, etc., 24, 1, 2, 25, 19, 20, etc., 36, 2—4, 37, 2.¹

If there be, however, any connection however loose with an earlier event, the *Impf.* with *Wāw* cons. may even begin a narrative or a section of one; in which case we find a most frequent use of יָדַע (καὶ ἐγένετο) and it happened Gen. 11, 1, 14, 1, 17, 1, 22, 1, 26, 1, 27, 1.²

Representing a temporal or logical sequence the *Impf. consec.* may be placed after quite various antecedent clauses. Thus it stands—
a) after a causal clause, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 because thou hast rejected the Lord's word וַיִּמָּאֵךְ so he too rejected thee,—b) after an absolute noun, e. g. 1 K. 12, 17 as to the children of Israel, וַיִּמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רְחֹבָם so Rehoboam reigned over them, 9, 21, Jer. 6, 19, Dan. 8, 22.³

The *Imperfect* with ו stands purely as a consecutive also after interrogative sentences like the following: Ps. 144, 3 what is man וְתִפְתָּרוּ that thou takest knowledge of him! (comp. Ps. 8, 5, where כִּי is used), Job 7, 17, Is. 51, 12 who art thou וְתִירָא that thou shouldest be afraid?

2. As to the relations of time indicated by this *Imperfect of consecution*, we may remark that, in accordance always with the preceding tense, it may refer—

a) to the present time, as being a sequent, and continued representation of actions and conditions reaching down from the past (lasting in their effects), often with the secondary idea of an intended sequence. Thus after a

¹ The preceding *Perf.* is, at times, only implied in the sense, particularly in specifications of time, e. g. Gen. 11, 10 Shem (was) 100 years old וַיְהִי־לֵדָוָד and he begat, 10, 1. So also in Gen. 22, 4 on the third day וַיִּשָּׂא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו then (prop. and) he lifted up his eyes, which in full would be, it happened on the third day that—, 1 Sam. 4, 20, Is. 6, 1, 37, 19.

² This connection is customary when a specification of time is to be made, e. g. Gen. 22, 1 וַיִּדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וַיִּמָּאֵךְ and it happened after these things, that God tried Abraham, וַיִּדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וַיִּמָּאֵךְ, 39, 13, 15, 18; 19; Judg. 15, 16, 25. See the numerous passages in Gesenius, Thes. Ling. Hebr. p. 372. Comp. וַיִּדְרֹשׁ used of futurity (§ 126, Rem. 2).

³ On the sentences which begin with the *Infinitive* or *Participle*, and then proceed with this *Imperfect of consecution*, see § 132, Rem. 2, and § 134, Rem. 2.

- Perfect*, Gen. 19, 9 (*to judge continually*), Is. 27, 8, Ps. 7, 16, 16, 9, 29, 10, 33, 9, Job 7, 9, 14, 2; or an *Imperfect* (as a *Present*), Ps. 3, 5, 42, 6, Job 4, 5, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 29; or a *Participle* 2 Sam. 19, 2, Amos 9, 6, Nah. 1, 4, Job 12, 4; or after other equivalents of the present, as in Ps. 144, 3, Job 10, 22, Is. 51, 12; v. above No. 1, Rem.;
- b) less frequently to futurity, when preceded by a *Perfect consecutive* or prophetic (in the sense of a *Future*), Is. 5, 15, 16, 9, 10, 13, 22, 7, 8, Joel 2, 23, Mic. 2, 13, Ps. 120, 1; unto *Jehovah I call* (קָרָאתִי) and *he hears me* (וַיִּשְׁמָעֵנִי), comp. Job 9, 16 *if I had called* (אִם-קָרָאתִי) and *he had answered me* (וַיַּעֲנֵנִי); also joined to a clause without a verb, e. g. Gen. 49, 15, or to an absolute noun, e. g. Is. 9, 11, or to introduce such future events as will result necessarily from facts just described, Is. 2, 9.

In the apodosis after לִינָא *utinam* stand וַיִּרְדֵּי Is. 48, 18, 19 ff. *so that were* (=so will be); in a conditional clause וְאָמַר Ps. 139, 11 and (if) *I should say* (prop. *did I speak in consequence*); Ex. 4, 23 *now if I speak to thee* (וְאָמַר) and *thou refusest* (וַיִּסָּר) *behold I shall*, etc. comp. § 127, 5.

§ 130.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The Imperative expresses not only command in the strict sense, but also exhortation (Hos. 10, 12), entreaty (then with נָא 2 K. 5, 22, Is. 5, 3), wish (with לִי as a more urgent form, instead of the Perf. or Impf. Gen. 23, 13), permission (2 Sam. 18, 23, Is. 45, 11). It is employed especially in assurances, strong promises (comp. *thou shalt have it*, which sounds like a command) Ps. 128, 5 *thou shalt see* (וַיִּרְאֶה) *the prosperity of Jerusalem*, Gen. 45, 18, Is. 37, 30, 65, 18.¹

Rem. Very frequently, the Imperative is enlivened in expression by the addition of the particle נָא *now! pray!* (§ 105); this serves as well to soften a command, and to put it rather in the form of an entreaty

¹ Analogous to these assurances in the form of the imperative is the form of menace in the comic writers, *vapula* Phorm. V. 6, 10, *vapulare te jubeo* Plaut. Curculio, IV. 4, 12.

(v. above) Gen. 12, 13, 24, 2 as to strengthen an exhortation uttered in the form of rebuke or menace e. g. Num. 16, 26, 20, 10. In the sense of ironical permission we have עֲמִידֵי-נָא *only persist!* Is. 47, 12, comp. Job 40, 10.

2. The above mentioned use of the Imperative for the expression of firm assurances occurs especially also in those clauses where an Imperative with ך is joined to another, not in a mere coordination (as Is. 56, 1) but rather so that the first one imposes a condition, and the second announces a result of the fulfilled condition (like the Lat. *divide et impera*), e. g. a) with assurances Gen. 42, 18 זָאֵר עֲשֵׂי וְחַיִּי *this do, and (ye shall) live*, Prov. 20, 13 *keep thine eyes open* (be wakeful, active), *have* (i. e. *then shalt thou have*) *plenty of bread*, Ps. 37, 3, 27, Prov. 4, 4, 7, 2, 9, 6, 2 K. 5, 13, Job 22, 21, Is. 36, 16, 45, 22, Amos 5, 4, 6; likewise after an Imperfect (Jussive or Optative) Gen. 20, 7, Job 11, 6, Ruth 1, 9; even after an Imperfect in a deliberative question 2 Sam. 21, 3;— b) where, a threat is expressed, the first Imp. ironically permitting an act, while the second denounces the consequences, Is. 8, 9 רָעוּ עַמִּים וְרוּחוֹ *rage, ye people, and be ye* (i. e. *ye shall surely be*) *dismayed*, Is. 29, 9. Instead of the second Imp. the Impf. stands when the 3d person is introduced Is. 8, 10. *Take counsel and it shall come to nought.*

Rem. 1. How far the *Perf.* and *Impf.* may be employed to express command or prohibition has been shown in § 126, 6, c, § 127, 3, c.

2. It is incorrect to suppose that the Imperative is used, as some grammarians maintain, for the *third person* (*let him kill*). Among the examples adduced of this usage is Gen. 17, 10 לְכֹם קֵל-יִצְחָק *every male among you shall he circumcised* (in verse 12, יִצְחָק is used; but לְכֹם here is rather the Infinitive absolute comp. § 131, 4, b); In Ps. 22, 9 (יָלַד), Gen. 31, 50, Judg. 9, 28, Is. 45, 21 we have actual Imperatives of the 2nd person.

§ 131.

USE OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

The Infinitive absolute (comp. § 45) is employed, when there is occasion to express the action of the verb by itself, neither connected with something following e. g. with the

genitive nor dependent on a preceding noun or particle.¹ Thus the infinitive absolute stands—

1. When it is governed by a *transitive verb*, and stands in fact as an accusative; Is. 42, 24 *לֹא אָבִי הָלָךְ* *they would not go*, 1, 17, 7, 15 *וְיִבְחֹר בְּטוֹב וְיִבְחֹר בְּרָע* *until he learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good*; it is placed emphatically before in Is. 57, 20, Jer. 9, 4. Here, however, the *Inf. constr.* is oftener used, with or without a preposition, always according to the construction of the preceding verb, § 142, 1, 2.

In the same construction is Is. 22, 13 *הִנֵּה* *behold! joy and gladness*, *וְהָרַג* *the slaying* (prop. to *slay*) *וְשָׁחַט* *the slaughtering* *וְשָׁחַט* *the eating* *וְשָׁחַט* *the drinking* (where the Infinitives are mere accusatives governed by *behold*), Is. 5, 5 *אֲדַבֵּר* *I will tell you what I do to my vineyard* (namely) *וְקָרַע* *take away its hedge*, *וְקָרַע* *tear down its wall*.

2. When it is in the accusative and used *adverbially*² (in Latin as *gerund* in *do*); e. g. *וְהָיָה* *well* (*bene faciendo* for *bene*), *וְהָיָה* *much* (*multum faciendo* for *multum*). Job 15, 3 (in Num. 15, 35 such an adverbial *Inf. absol.*—*וְהָיָה*, referred by Røediger to 4, *a*,—takes afterwards its subject; v. No. 4, Rem. 1). Hence—

3. When it stands in immediate connection with the corresponding *finite verb*:—

a) It then stands most commonly *before* the finite verb, to which it gives *strength* or *intensity* in various shades, e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 *וְהָיָה* *he urgently besought of me*, Gen. 43, 3 *וְהָיָה* *he strictly charged us* (*וְהָיָה*). A very clear example is in Amos 9, 8 *אֲנִי הָיִיתִי וְאֵין* *I will destroy it from the face of*

¹ After Prepositions the *Inf. constr.* is always used, because as original substantives they govern the genitive. But when several successive infinitives are to have a preposition, it is often written only before the first; and the second, before which it is to be supplied by the mind, stands in the absolute form, as *וְשָׁחַט וְשָׁחַט* *to eat and (to) drink* Ex. 32, 6; comp. 1 Sam. 22, 13, Jer. 7, 18, 44, 17. This case is analogous with that explained in § 121, 3. Comp. also No. 4, *a*, of this section.

² On the accusative as a *casus adverbialis*, see § 118. In Arabic it takes, in this case, the distinctive accusative-ending. In general, the *Inf. absol.* answers in most cases (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, of this section) to the accusative of the Infinitive, to which No. 4 also is to be referred.

the earth, except that I will not utterly destroy (לֹא הִשְׁמִיד) *the house of Jacob*; Judg. 1, 28: הוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ *he did not utterly drive them out*. Its effect is often merely to give a certain prominence to the thought contained in the finite verb, which effect other languages produce chiefly by the tone of the voice or by particles, as in assurances, questions (such especially as express excitement in view of something strange and improbable), and contrasts, as in Gen. 43, 7 *could we* (then) *know*? 37, 8 הֲמִלְכָה תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *wilt thou* (perhaps) *rule over us*? verse 10, 31, 30 *hadst thou even gone*¹ (הִלַּכְתָּ הִלַּכְתָּ), *since thou didst so earnestly long* (נִכְסַמְתָּ נִכְסַמְתָּ) Judg. 15, 13 *we will bind thee, but we will not kill thee*, 1 Sam. 9, 6, *that cometh surely to pass* 2 Sam. 24, 24, Hab. 2, 3.

- b) When the Inf. stands *after* the finite verb, this connection indicates either intensity as in letter *a* (v. Rem. 1; especially with Imperatives, for in this case the *Inf. absol.* always follows, Job 13, 17, 21, 2, 37, 2 = *listen attentively*) but especially *continued* or *lasting* action, as Is. 6, 9 שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמַעוּ *hear ye on continually*, Jer. 23, 17, Gen. 19, 9 יִשְׁפָּט וְיִשְׁפָּט *and he will always be acting the judge*! Two Infinitives absolute may be thus used, 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלַכְוּ הָלַכְוּ *they went going on and lowing*, i. e. *they kept going on and lowing*, 1 K. 20, 37. Instead of the second Inf., a finite verb is sometimes used (Josh. 6, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 19), or a participle (2 Sam. 16, 5).

Rem. 1. This usage in regard to the position of the Inf. is certainly the *common* one, though not without exceptions. It sometimes follows the finite verb which it strengthens, when the idea of *repetition* or *continuance* is excluded by the connection, Is. 22, 17, Jer. 22, 10, Gen. 31, 15, (the *Inf. absol.* still more strengthened by וְנָא, likewise in 46, 4). In Syriac, the Inf. when it expresses intensity stands regularly *before*, and in Arab. always *after*, the finite verb.—When a negative is used it is commonly placed between the *Inf.* and the *finite verb* (Ex. 5, 23), seldom before them both (Gen. 3, 4, Am. 9, 8, Ps. 49, 8).

2. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations may be connected not only the *Inf. absol.* of the same conjugation (Gen. 17, 13,

¹ As much as to say, I understand well wherefore thou art gone, viz. from earnest longing. The Vulgate renders it, *esto, ad tuos ire cupiebas*.

40, 15), but also and oftener that of *Qal* as the nearest and most general representation of the verbal idea (e. g. *פָּרַח טָרַח* Gen. 37, 33, Job 6, 2), or at times of another of like signification (Lev. 19, 20, 2 K. 3, 23). Lastly the *Inf. absol.* may no less be replaced by a substantive of the same stem e. g. Hab. 3, 9, Job 27, 12 (differing from the so-called *figura etymologica*, treated in § 138, 1, Rem. 1).

3. In expressing the idea of *continuance* (letter *b*), the verb *הָלַךְ* is frequently employed, with the signification *to go on, to continue on*, and thus denotes also *constant increase*. The principal idea is then added either in form of the second *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Gen. 8, 3: *וַיִּשְׁבּוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּהְיוּ מְרִיבִים* and the waters flowed off more and more; comp. v. 5, or in form of a *participle* or *verbal adjective*, e. g. 2 Sam. 3, 1, 5, 10; 1 Chron. 11, 9; 1 Sam. 2, 26: *וַיִּגְדַּל וַיִּשְׁבּוּ הַיָּלָד וַיִּהְיֶה שְׁמוֹנָה* the child Samuel went on growing bigger and better. 14, 19; 2 Sam. 18, 25 (he came always nearer), Gen. 28, 13 *וַיִּהְיֶה הָלַךְ וַיִּגְדַּל* he became continually greater and greater. However in the last four examples *וַיִּגְדַּל* etc. may be construed as *third pers. perf.* A similar mode of expression is found in the French, *le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, i. e. *grows on and gets worse continually*.

4. When it stands in place of the *finite verb*. We must here distinguish the two following cases, viz. —

a) When it is preceded by a *finite verb*. This is frequent, especially in the later writings, in the expression of several successive acts or states, where only the first of the verbs employed takes the required form in respect to *tense* and *person*, the others being simply put in the *Infinitive absolute*. So after several *Perfects*, e. g. Dan. 9, 5 *מִן־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* we have rebelled and (we have) turned away (properly *and a turning away* took place; but even in this case the *Infinitive* may be construed as an *accusative*, depending on the general idea of *doing* contained in the *finite verb*). 1 Sam. 2, 28, Is. 37, 19, Jer. 14, 15, Hag. 1, 6 (four *Infinitives*), Zech. 3, 4, 7, 5; after *Perf. consec.* Zech. 12, 10; after *Impf. consec.* Gen. 41, 43 *וַיִּשְׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים וַיִּפְּסֶה אֶת־הָאֲרָץ* he caused him to ride in the second chariot and placed him; Ex. 8, 11, Judges 7, 19, 2 Chr. 7, 3, after pure *Impfs.* Lev. 25, 14, 32, 44 (three *infinitives*) *they will buy fields for money*. On Num. 15, 35, v. above No. 2.

b) It may stand at the beginning of the sentence, without a preceding *finite verb*. The *Infinitive absolute* (as the pure abstract idea of the verb) may serve as a short and

emphatic expression for any tense and person, which the connection requires; e. g. it stands—*a*) for the *Perf.* in lively narration and description, like the Latin *Infinitivus historicus*; Is. 21, 5 *צָמַח הַצִּמְחָה אָכַל שָׂרָה* *to prepare the table, to set the watch, to eat, to drink* (sc. this they do), for *they prepare*, etc., 59, 4, Ez. 1, 14, Hos. 4, 2, Job 15, 35; also—*β*) for the *Impf.* especially in the sense of a Future, as in 2 K. 4, 43 *אָכַל וְהִתְרַחַץ* *to eat and to leave thereof* (sc. ye shall do) Job 42 in a question expressing rebuke; *he wants to contend . . . the faultfinder?* v. Rem. 1);—*γ*) most frequently for the emphatic *Imper.* (as in Greek) e. g. Deut. 5, 12 *שָׁמַר* *to observe* (sc. thou art to, thou shalt); so Ex. 20, 9 *זָכוֹר* *to remember* (shalt thou do); compare the full form, *שָׁמַר תִּשְׁמָרְךָ* Deut. 6, 17, *זָכוֹר תִּזְכָּר* 7, 18;—*δ*) likewise (as exclamation) for the *Cohortative*, Is. 22, 13 *אָכַל וְשָׂרָה* *to eat and to drink!* sc. let us do (these *Infinites* however stand perhaps for the finite verb parallel with the preceding ones; v. No. 1, Rem.) 1 K. 22, 30 *לְהַסְתִּימִי וְלָלֶכְתִּי* *to disguise myself and go* (will I do).

Bem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* instead of the *finite verb* is sometimes found in connection with the subject, as in Gen. 17, 10, Ps. 17, 5, Prov. 17, 12, Eccl. 4, 2, Job 40, 2, comp. Num. 15, 35.

2. In a few examples the *Inf. constr.* is employed instead of the *Inf. absol.* to strengthen the verbal idea; thus Num. 23, 25 *לֵב* in attraction with *נָם*; likewise *שָׁל* Ruth 2, 16 *וְהִיטֵל* 50, 21, *הָיָה* Neh. 1, 7, everywhere in a rapid flow of speech (Ps. 50, 21, perhaps also out of repugnance to the hiatus *וְהִיטֵל*).

§ 132.

INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT.

1. The *Inf. constr.* as a verbal substantive is subject to the same relations of case as the noun (§ 117), which are also indicated in the same way. This, it is found,—*a*) in the nominative as the subject of the sentence, Gen. 2, 18 *לֹא טוֹב לְהִיָּדָה הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ* *not good (lit. the being of man in his separation) that man should be alone*;—*b*) in the genitive, Gen. 29, 7 *זֶמַן הָאֵסָף* *tempus colligendi*. Here also belong the cases where the *Infinitive* is dependent on a preposition (as being origin-

ally a noun), see No. 2;—c) in the accusative, 1 K. 3, 7 **לֹא יָדַע יֵצֵאת וְיָבוֹא** *I know not (how) to go out and to come in*; prop. *I know not the going out and coming in*. (In this case the *Inf. absol.* may also be used, § 131, 1.)

2. In translating the Heb. *Inf.* with prepositions (comp. the Greek ἐν τῷ εἶναι), in German and English we generally employ a finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 **וְיִפְגְּעוּ בוֹ** *when he meets him* (prop. *in his meeting with him*), Jer. 2, 35 **עַל אַמְרֶךָ** *because thou sayest* (prop. *on account of thy saying*), Gen. 27, 1 **מֵרְאוֹת** *so that he did not see* (comp. the use of **מִן** before a noun to express distance from, and the absence or want of a thing).

3. As to relations of time, the Infinitive construct may refer also to the past (comp. on the analogous use of the Participle, § 134, 2), e. g. Gen. 2, 4 **בְּהִבְרָאם** *when they were created* (prop. *in their being created*).

Rem. 1. **הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת** (also **לַעֲשׂוֹת** with the omission of **הָיָה**) signifies,—

1) *he is about to do, intends or purposes to do, and he is intent upon, is eager to do* (comp. Eng. *he was to do something*), as in Gen. 15, 12 **יִהְיֶה לְבֹא** *וְהַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ וְהַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ* *and the sun was about to go down*. Hence, it serves (with a secondary idea of a lasting action) for a periphrasis of the *Impf.* 2 Ch. 26, 5 **וַיִּרְדֵּף אֱלֹהִים** *and he was seeking God*; without **הָיָה** in Is. 38, 20 **וְהָיָה לְרוֹשְׁיָי** *the Eternal saveth me* 21, 1, Eccles. 3, 15, **אֲשֶׁר** *לְהָיוֹת* *what is future*, Prov. 19, 8, comp. 16, 20.—2) *It is to do for it must be done* (comp. Eng. *I am to give*), Josh. 2, 5 **וַיִּסְמְךָ לְסָגוֹר** *and the gate was to shut for was to be shut* Is. 27, 36. More commonly without **הָיָה** 2 K. 4, 13 **מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת** *what (is) to be done for thee?* 13, 19 **לְהַצִּיחַ** *(it was) to smite i. e. thou shouldst have smitten*, Is. 5, 4; Ps. 32, 9, Job 30, 6, Hos. 9, 13, Amos 6, 10, 2 Ch. 19, 2. Also—3) *He is able to do* (comp. the Latin *non est solvendo*), Judg. 1, 19 **לֹא יָהֲרִישׁ** *he could not drive out*.¹

2. Very frequently, almost regularly, these constructions (described in No. 2) of an *Infinitive* with a preposition, are in a further continuation of speech replaced by the finite verb (i. e. an independent clause). The mind must then supply a conjunction answering to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus, a *Perf.* follows in Amos 1, 11 **עַל רִדְפוֹ וְשִׂחָתוֹ** *because he pursued him and stifled his compassion*; verse 9; Gen. 27, 45; an *Impf.* with *Wāw* consec. Gen. 39, 18 **וַיִּקְרָא** *וְיִקְרָא* *he called*.

¹ This sense is necessary from the context and the parallel passage Josh. 17, 12 **לֹא יָהֲרִישׁ** *וְיִקְרָא* *he called*. Comp. Amos 6, 10 and the formula **לֹא יִהְיֶה לִּי** *non licet mihi* and the Syr. **لَا يَكُونُ لِي** *non est mihi, non possum*.

and it was when I raised my voice and cried, Is. 30, 12, 38, 9; most commonly an Impf. with only י prefixed, as in Is. 5, 24, 10, 2, 13, 9, 14, 25, 30, 26. (Comp. the similar succession of the Participle and finite Verb, § 134, Rem. 2.)

§ 133.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTR. WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The Infinitive may be construed with the case of its verb, and hence, in transitive verbs, it takes the *accusative of the object*; e. g. Num. 9, 15 אָדָה־מִשְׁכָּן to set up the Tabernacle, 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהַמִּית אֶדָוִד for to kill David, Gen. 18, 25 לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק for to kill the righteous, 1 K. 12, 15, 15, 4, 2 K. 21, 8, Ez. 44, 30, Lev. 26, 15 לִבְלֹתִי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי not to do all my commands, Gen. 19, 29 בְּהִנָּף אֶת־הָעָרִים when he overthrew the cities, 48, 11 רָאָה פָנֶיךָ to behold thy face, Prov. 21, 15 עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט to do judgment.¹ In like manner it takes the accusative of the pronouns, e. g. אָהָה לְמַעַן הָקִים אֹתָךְ in order to establish thee Dent. 29, 12, הָשִׁיבֵנִי to bring me back Jer. 38, 26, לְהַרְגֵנִי to slay me Ex. 2, 14, לְבַקֵּשְׁנִי to seek me 1 Sam. 27, 1, 28, 9, 1 Ch. 12, 17, Gen. 25, 26 בָּלָדָה אֹתָם when (the mother) bare them, אָתִי לֵדַעַת for to know me Jer. 24, 7.—If the finite verb governs two accusatives, then they will be employed also with the Infinitive, as אֶתְּהִלָּתָא אֹתָךְ אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵי הוֹדִיעַ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים after God has shown thee all this Gen. 41, 39.

This governing power of the word belongs also to such secondary forms of the infinitive (the so-called *nomina verbalia*) as otherwise passed completely as substantives, as דַּעַת אֶתְּהִלָּתָךְ knowledge of the Lord (prop. the knowing the Lord) Is. 11, 9, לִירְאָה אֹתִי for to fear me Deut. 5, 26, Is. 30, 28, 56, 6.²

¹ In cases like the last, מִשְׁפָּט might be easily regarded as genitive of the object (§ 114, 2), which construction is common in Arabic; but since in other instances אֵת (sign of the definite accusative) is used, and since a form like הָקִים never occurs in such connection, which form would decidedly mark the constr. state and also the genitive relation (so also קָמִים Is. 3, 13, Ps. 50, 4, not לָרִיז ע'), we must suppose that the Hebrew considered, at least as a general rule, the object of the Inf. to be in the accusative. Compare Nos. 2 and 3.

² For examples of an accusative of the object with the Inf. passive, see § 143, 1, a.

2. The *subject* of the action is commonly put immediately after the Infinitive, sometimes (where the Inf., according to form and signification, is regarded rather as a substantive) in the *genitive*, but mostly in the *nominative*; e. g. 2 Ch. 7, 3 שָׁבַת אֲתֵימָם יַחְדָּם הָאֵשׁ *the descending of the fire*, Ps. 133, 1 שָׁבַת אֲתֵימָם יַחְדָּם *the dwelling of brethren together*, Ex. 17, 1 הָיָה שָׁם מַיִם לְשָׂחֹתָם הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. *for the drinking of the people*). The *genitive* relation of the subject is quite plain after Infinitives of feminine-ending, as in Gen. 19, 16 בְּחַמְלָהּ בְּעֶזְרָתָהּ הַבְּרִיָּה מֵאֵר *by the Lord's pity on him*, Is. 47, 9 בְּעֶזְרָתָהּ הַבְּרִיָּה מֵאֵר *although thy enchantments are very numerous*; and also when it is expressed by a suffix, as in בְּקִרְאִי *when I call* Ps. 4, 2, 4. On the contrary, the *genitive* is excluded, and the subject is to be considered rather in the *nominative*, in such cases as Ps. 46, 3 בְּהִמְיֹר אֶרֶץ (not בְּהִמְיֹר) *when the earth moves*, Deut. 24, 19 בְּהִנֵּיתָ יְהוָה לָּהּ *when the Lord gives to thee rest*. By the lack of case endings,¹ the difference between the *genitive* and *nominative* construction, could not in very many cases, indeed, be made sensible (e. g. with infinitives like קָטַל קָם etc.); even in cases like הִמְיֹר etc. the pretonic lengthening which belongs to the character of the form, may have maintained itself in spite of the following *genitive* (although with suffixes always הִמְיֹרִי etc.); but when a prefixed לְ with pretonic Qā'mēṣ stands before the infinitive, a *nominative* of the subject must in all cases be understood, e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׂוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לִבּוֹ *that the king should lay it to heart*, also when the Inf. and the subject are separated, as in Judg. 9, 2 הֲמִשַּׁל בָּכֶם שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ אֶם־מִשַּׁל בָּכֶם אִישׁ אֶחָד *whether seventy men rule over you, or one man rules over you?* Job 34, 22 לְהַסְתֵּר שָׁם פְּעִלֵי אָרֶץ *that the evil-doers hide themselves there*, Ps. 76, 10. See further in No. 3.

3. When both *subject* and *object* are connected with the Infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should come imme-

¹ In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc.), literally *the killing of Z. the 'A.* (i. e. *Z. killing the A.*), and also: *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), and even: *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) *'Amran*.

diately after the Inf., and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put, as in No. 2, sometimes in the genitive, but chiefly in the nominative. The genitive (which predominates in Arabic) appears, e. g. in Deut. 1, 27 *בְּשֹׂנְאָת יְהוָה אֲנָחְנוּ* in the Lord's hating us, Deut. 7, 8 *מֵאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֲתָכֶם* because the Lord loves you, 1 K. 10, 9, Is. 13, 19 *בְּמַהֲפֹכֶת אֱלֹהִים אֲדִמְסֶלֶם* as God overthrew Sodom, Is. 29, 13 *יִרְאַתָּם אֹרִי* their fearing me, Gen. 39, 18 *כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי* as I lifted up my voice. But the nominative seems to stand (v. No. 2 above) in cases like Is. 10, 15 *כַּהֲנִיף שֶׁבֶט אֲחֻמְרִימִי* as if the rod could shake them that lift it up (where we should have *בַּהֲנִיף*, if *שֶׁבֶט* were in the genitive), and so probably also in cases like 1 K. 13, 4 *שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־דְּבַר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים* as the king heard the word of the man of God, Is. 32, 7 *בְּדַבֵּר לְהַסִּיר מִשְׁפָּט אֲבִיוֹן מִשְׁפָּט* when the needy speaks justice, Job 33, 17 *לְהִסְתֵּר מִפְּנֵי אָדָם* that man should avoid the deed, Gen. 13, 10, Josh. 14, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc. the subject stands separate from the Infn. and is then necessarily a nominative, v. No. 2 at the end.

Now and then the order of the words is different, the object being put immediately after the Inf., and the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), e. g. Is. 20, 1 *בְּשִׁלְחַן אֹרִי סַרְגֹּן* when Sargon sent him, Ezr. 9, 8 *לְהַאֲרִיר עֵינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* that our God enlighten our eyes, Josh. 14, 11, Is. 5, 24, Ps. 56, 1.

§ 134.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The Participle has distinct forms for the *active* and the *passive*, yet not for the different *tenses*, but the Participle of all conjugations can apply to every tense, just as the context may require, as *מָוֹת* dying (Zech. 11, 9), *he who has died* (*mortuus*), *dead* (very often so used always when a substantive), *he who shall die*, *moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); *נָפַל* *he who falls*, *has fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, *will fall* Is. 30, 13; *לָשֵׂה* *facturus* (Gen. 41, 25, Is. 5, 5), *נֹלֵד* *natus* and *nasciturus* (Ps. 22, 32 comp. *נִבְרָא* *creandus* 102, 19); yet it most frequently stands for our *Present*. Only the passive (*קְטֻל*) answers nearly always to a Lat. or Greek *Part. perf. pass.*, as *כְּתוּב* *scriptus*, *γεγραμμένος*

(but see § 50, Rem. 2).—The *passive* Participles stand sometimes also for the Latin Participle in *-ndus*, e. g. *נורא* (*metuendus*) terrible Ps. 76, 8, *נחמד* (*desirable*) Ps. 19, 11, *נהלל* (*laudandus*) worthy to be praised Ps. 18, 4.

2. The Participle, when it stands in place of the finite verb as predicate of the sentence, denotes—

a) Most frequently our *present*,¹ especially in nominal sentences (v. § 144, a) which describe established facts and conditions, e. g. Ecc. 1, 4 *הָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה הָאֲרֶץ* *one generation goes, another comes and the earth stands (עמדה) for ever* vs. 7 *כָּל-הַנְּחָלִים הֹלְכִים* *all the rivers go*; or of actually occurring present events Gen. 4, 10. If the subject is a *personal pronoun*, it is either written, in its separate form, in immediate connection with the Participle, as *ירא אֹנִי* *I fear him* Gen. 32, 12, *אֲנִחנוּ יִרְאִים* *we are afraid* 1 Sam. 23, 3; or it is appended as a suffix to the word *יש* (*is*), as Judg. 6, 36 *אִם יִשָּׁע מִיָּשִׁיעַ* *if thou savest*. In the same manner it is appended to *אין* in negative sentences; e. g. *אִם אֵינְךָ מִשְׁלֵחַ* *if thou send not away* Gen. 43, 5.

b) Our *future* (conceived of as present, comp. § 126, 4), Is. 55 *אֲנִי אֶעֱשֶׂה וְאֵינִי עוֹשֶׂה* *what I (at once) do, for I will do*, Gen. 15, 14, 19, 13, 41, 25, 1 K. 1, 14.

c) Also the *past*, especially in clauses representing actions or situations which have taken place simultaneously with other past actions Job 1, 16 *וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁנֶּחֱדָר וְהָיָה הָאֶחָד* *the one (was) still speaking, and another came*, vs. 17, Gen. 19, 1, 42, 35, Judg. 13, 9, 1 Sam. 17, 23, 1 K. 1, 22. But it is also used in independent nominal sentences; e. g. Deut. 4, 3 *עֵינֶיכֶם רָאוּ* *your eyes that have seen*.² Gen. 39, 22 (*עָשִׂים*), 23, Ex. 2, 6, 1 K. 1, 5.

With the verb *הָיָה* it serves to express our Imperfect,³ Job 1, 14 *וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁנֶּחֱדָר וְהָיָה הָאֶחָד* *the oxen were ploughing* (again with the secondary idea of an action having lasted simultaneously in the past), Gen. 39, 22; Ex. 3, 1, Judg. 1, 7, 16, 21.

Rem. 1. In all the three cases alluded to above, a, b, c, *הָיָה* is employed before the Participle for awakening special attention; e. g. for our *present*, *הִנֵּה הָיָה* *behold! thou (art) with child* (Gen. 18, 11, 27, 42), for our *future* (Gen. 6, 17, 20, 3, Ex. 31, 11, Is. 3, 1, 7, 14, 17, 1), for the *past* (Gen. 37, 7, 41, 17).

¹ In Aramaic, it is more frequently used for the *Present* than in its proper signification as a Participle.

² For the use of the article here before the predicate, see § 110, 3, Rem.

³ In Syriac the participle with *הָיָה* (= *הָיָה*) serves regularly to express the *Impf.*, as the participle with the personal pronoun (lit. a) expresses the present.

2. By a change of construction, the Participle often passes over immediately to a finite verb; when the pronouns *that, who, etc.* (אֲשֶׁר) implied in the Participle, must be mentally supplied before the verb. So *Part. and Perf.* in Is. 14, 17 *that made* (שָׂם) *the world as a wilderness, and (who) destroyed* (הָרַס) *the cities thereof.* Also *Part. and Impf. (Present)*, e. g. Is. 5, 8 בָּנִיתָ שָׂדֶה בְּשָׂדֶה יִקְרִיבוּ *woe to those who connect house with house (and who) join field to field*, 1 Sam. 2, 8, Prov. 19, 26. Also with *Wāw consec.* e. g. Gen. 27, 33 וַיָּבֵא צִיד וַיִּבְרָא *that hunted game and hath brought it*, 35, 3, Ps. 18, 33. (The case is strictly analogous when the Inf. is replaced by the finite verb, § 132, Rem. 2).

3. The personal pronoun, which might be expected as the subject of a participial sentence, is often omitted (see above letter *a*) at least the pronoun of the 3d person (הוּא, הִיא, הֵוא, הִיא); comp. Gen. 39, 22 (עֲשִׂים), Is. 26, 3; 29, 8; 40, 19; Ps. 22, 29; 55, 20; Job 12, 17, 19 ff.; 25, 2; the pronoun of the 2d person (אַתָּה) seems to be omitted in Ps. 7, 10 (with בָּרַךְ) and Hab. 2, 10 (with הוֹשִׁיעַ); the pronoun of the 1st person (אֲנִי) Hab. 1, 5 (with הִשָּׁלַךְ) and Zech. 9, 12 (with אֲנִי).

§ 135.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. When Participles are followed by the object of the action which they express, they are construed in two ways; either—*a*) as verbal-adjectives (in the absol. state) with the accusative or a preposition, just as the verbs to which they belong may require, e. g. 1 Sam. 18, 29 אֵיב אֶחָדֶיךָ *David's enemy* (prop. *one hating David*), 1 K. 9, 23 הַיְדֹרִים בָּנִים *they who rule the people*, Ps. 5, 5 רָשָׁע רָשָׁע *loving wickedness*, Ez. 9, 2 לְבָשׁ בְּגָדִים *clothed with linen garments*; or—*b*) as nouns (in const. state) followed by a genitive (§ 112, 2); e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים *one fearing (=a fearer of) God*, Ps. 84, 5 יֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתְךָ *inmates of thy house*, Ez. 9, 11 לְבָשׁ הַבְּגָדִים *the one clothed with linen garments*, 2 Sam. 13, 31 קָרְעֵי בְּגָדִים (*lacerati vestibus*) *those who have rent garments*; and with poetic colouring, as in יֹרְדֵי בּוֹר *those who have descended to the pit* Is. 38, 18, שְׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *those who lie in the grave* Ps. 88, 6 שֹׁחַץ־נֶשֶׁע (*levatus culpā*) *he whose transgression is forgiven* Ps. 32, 1; rarely also like מְשִׁרְתִּי אֲנִי *who serve me* Jer. 33, 22 (— מְשִׁרְתִּי in preceding verse).

This latter construction with the genitive is properly confined to participles of transitive verbs (§ 138). The Participle of **בוא** *to enter in*, is also construed thus, as this verb stands with the accusative (comp. *ingredi portam*); e. g. Gen. 23, 10 **בָּאֵי שָׂרָי** *those who enter in at the gate*. But there are also examples of the Participle taking a genitive (a suff. pron.), even when the verb to which it belongs is construed only with a preposition; e. g. **קָמָי קָמָי** *those who rise up against him*,—*against me*, for **עָלַי קָמָי** Ps. 18, 40, 49, Deut. 33, 11 **שָׂרֵי פָשַׁע** *those who turn from wickedness* Is. 59, 20; Micah 2, 8.

2. The distinction explained in No. 1, of verbal and nominal government, holds also in regard to the connection of participles with *suffixes*. After the first method (with accus.) we have **עָשָׂנִי** *he who made me*, even with the article **הַעֲשֵׂה** *he who made him*, Job 14, 19; after the second (with genit.) **עָשִׂי** *my maker*, **כָּל-מוֹצֵא** *every one who finds me* Gen. 4, 14.

§ 136.

EXPRESSION OF THE OPTATIVE.

Besides the expression of the Optative by the *Impf.* (especially in the form of Jussive or Cohortative, with the particle **אִם**, § 127, 3, *b*) it may also be periphrased in the following ways, viz.—

1. By questions expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 **מִי יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי** *who will make me judge?* i. e. *would that I were made judge!* Judg. 9, 29 **מִי יִתֵּן אֶדְרִיחֶם בְּיָדִי** *would that this people were placed in my hand!* Ps. 55, 7, Job 29, 2. In the phrase **יִתֵּן מִי** the proper force of the verb (*to give*) is often excluded, and nothing more is expressed than *would that!* Lat. *utinam!* In this signification of a particle expressing wish **יִתֵּן מִי** is construed—*a*) by an accusative, as Deut. 28, 67 **מִי־יָרֶב עֶרֶב** *would it were evening!* prop. *who will give evening?* Ps. 14, 7, Job 11, 5, 31, 35; with suffix Is. 27, 4 etc.—*b*) by an Infinitive, as Ex. 16, 3 **מִי־יָמָת מָוֹתֵנוּ** *would that we had died!*—*c*) by a finite verb (with or without **וְ**), Deut. 5, 26 **מִי־יָדָע** *would that they had this heart!* Perf. without **וְ** Job 23, 3; *Impf.* with **וְ** Job 19, 23; without **וְ** 6, 8, 13, 5, 14, 13.—With a still greater weakening of its original mean-

ing **מִיִּתֵּן** stands directly in the sense of a negation e. g. Job 14, 4 *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

2. By the particles **אם**, **לִי** *if! (si, O si!), would! (utinam)*, especially by the latter. The *Impf.* follows, Ps. 81, 9, 139, 19 (after **אם**); Gen. 17, 18 (after **לִי**); the *Part.* Ps. 81, 14 (after **לִי**); the *Imp.* Gen. 23, 13 only by power of an *anacoluthon* (see § 130, 1). When **לִי** is followed by the *Perf.*, it expresses a wish that something had happened (§ 126, 5, *b*), as in Num. 14, 2 **לִי־מָתָה** *would that we had died*, 20, 3 **לִי־נָעַמְהָ** *would we had expired!* Comp. however Is. 48, 18, 63, 19.

§ 137.

PERSONS OF THE VERB.

1. In the *personal affixes* of the verb frequently an *enallage* (exchange) of gender takes place, the masc. (as the gender lying nearest and more general) being placed in reference to feminines, e. g. **יָרַעְתָּם** Ez. 23, 49, **עָשִׂיתָם** Ruth 1, 8, **וַתַּכִּיתִּי** *and thou (fem.) hast made* (a league) Is. 57, 8, Judg. 4, 20 (**עָמַד** for **עָמְדִי**); comp. Jer. 3, 5, Joel 2, 22, Am. 4, 1, Cant. 2, 7. (See the anomalous uses of the personal pronoun, § 121, Rem. 1.)

2. The third person is often employed impersonally, most commonly in the *masc.*, e. g. **וַיְהִי** *and it happened*; **צָר לִי** and **רָצָה לִי** (lit. *it was strait to him*) *he was in trouble* 1 Sam. 13, 6, Gen. 32, 8; **חַם לָהֶם** *it is warm to them*, i. e. *they are warm*, Ec. 4, 11; but also in the *fem.*, e. g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 **וַתִּצָּר לְדָוִד** *and David was in trouble*, Ps. 50, 3, Jer. 10, 7, 19, 5.

The Arabic and Ethiopic commonly use here the *masc.* and the Syriac the *fem.* form.

3. The indeterminate third person (where the Germans use *man*, the French *on*, and we say *they, one*) is expressed,—*a*) by the 3d pers. singular *masc.*, e. g. **קָרָא** *they (prop. he) called* Gen. 11, 9, 16, 14;—*b*) often by the 3d pers. plural, as Gen. 41, 14 **וַיְבִיאוּהוּ** *and they brought him in haste*, for *he was brought*, 1 K. 1, 2;—*c*) by the 2d pers. singular *masc.*; e. g. Is. 7, 25 **לֹא־תֵבֹא שָׁמָּה** (prop. *thou shalt not go*) *there*

shall no one go thither, comp. *לֹא יֵצֵא בָּאָדָם* or *בָּאָדָם* until one comes (prop. *until thy coming*);—d) by the passive voice, as Gen. 4, 26 *לְקַרְאָם* *אֲזָז הֵחִלּוּ* then they began (prop. *it was begun*) to invoke.¹

Rem. 1. Instead of the simple 3d pers. sing. (letter *a*), *וְאָמַרְתָּ* (as we say *men for they*) occurs, 1 Sam. 9, 9 *וְאָמַרְתָּ כִּי הָיָה כֵּן בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל* formerly they said thus in Israel. Sometimes *one* (or rather *someone*) is also expressed by the participle of the same verb; e. g. Is. 16, 10 *לֹא יֵצֵא בָּאָדָם* the treader shall not tread, for one shall not tread, 28, 4, comp. v. 24, Ez. 33, 4, Amos 9, 1, Num. 6, 9, Deut. 22, 8. So also not uncommonly in Arabic.

2. When the pronoun is to be expressed with emphasis, (*I spoke*) it is written separately *before* the corresponding verbal form; e. g. *וְאָמַרְתָּ* thou, thou hast given Judg. 15, 18, 1 K. 21, 7, Ps. 2, 6, 139, 2; also after the verbal form, Judg. 15, 12; but this occurs in the later writers without any special emphasis, as *וְאָמַרְתָּ* Eccl. 1, 16 (beginning), 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 8, 15. Comp. *Delitzsch*, Cant. and Eccl.

3. In the poets and prophets, there is often, in the same sentence, the sudden transition from one person to another, Is. 1, 29 *וְיִשְׁתָּבֹשׁוּ מִצִּיּוֹנוֹתָם* for they shall be ashamed of the groves in which ye delight, where both the third and second persons are employed with reference to the same subject, Mal. 2, 15, Deut. 32, 15, 17.—In Job 13, 28 the third person is probably employed *δαταταως* for the *first*; compare also 6, 21 (according to the reading *לִי*).

§ 138.

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

All *transitive* verbs in general govern the *accusative* (§ 118). On this rule we remark—

1. There are many verbs which are construed both *without* an object (i. e. absolutely), and *with* one (in this latter case the verb in German and English often takes the prefix *be*); e. g. *בָּכָה* to weep and to be-weep; *יָשָׁב* and *שָׁכַן* to dwell, and to dwell in, inhabit; *יָצָא* to go forth, and also depart, as in to depart this life, like the Lat. *egredi* in *egredi urbem* (Gen. 44, 4).

¹ Sometimes, on the contrary, the impersonal active must be understood as strictly the passive, Job 7, 3 *nights of pain have they appointed me*, for *are appointed me* (sc. by God), 4, 19, Prov. 2, 22. So in Aramaic very frequently (Dan. 2, 30, 3, 4, 5, 3), and in Syriac.

Here notice specially:—

Rem. 1. Several verbs of this kind often complete the objective idea by a substantive of the same stem, as פָּתַח פִּתְחוֹ Ps. 14, 5, רָצַח רִצְחוֹ 1 K. 1, 12, חָטָא חֲטָאוֹ Lam. 1, 8, like βουλεύειν βουλὰς Il. x. 147; most frequently with a farther qualification of the idea (as also in Greek), e. g. Gen. 27, 34-וַיִּצְעַק וַיִּבְלֵה וַיִּמְרוּ-הוּא *he cried a loud and bitter cry*, vs. 33, Ez. 32, 31, 2 Sam. 13, 15, 36, 2 K. 13, 14, (acc. w. מָרוֹ Jon. 4, 6 וַיִּשְׁמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח וַיִּשְׂמַח, Zech. 1, 14, 1 Ch. 29, 9. Comp. νοσεῖν νόσον καχήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην (Matt. 2, 10), *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere*, etc.

2. Verbs which signify *to flow, to stream*, etc. take in the poets an accusative of that with which something flows or overflows Lam. 3, 48 פָּלְגֵי-מַיִם תָּרַד עֵינַי *my eye flows down streams of water*, Joel 4, 18 הַהִלִּים יִשְׁלֹמֶה *the hills flow milk*. So נוֹלַם *to run, to flow* Jer. 9, 17; נָטַף *to distil* Joel 4, 18; and נוֹשֵׁם *to gush forth, to flow abundantly* (hence, *to bear along in a torrent*) Is. 10, 22. Similar, but more bold, is Prov. 24, 31 וַיִּהְיֶה וַיִּבְלֵה וַיִּבְלֵה *and behold it (the field) has all gone up in thorns*, Is. 5, 6, 34, 13. Compare in Greek, προρέειν ὄδω; δάκρυα στάζειν. The above verbs belong to the *verba abundandi* of which more below, No. 3, δ.

3. With verbs like *to speak, to cry, to do, to save* etc. the mode of action is often (especially in poetical speech) more closely defined by naming the instrument or member by means of which the act is performed (*accus. instrumenti*). This is best illustrated when this accus. has an adjective, as in יָצַק קוֹל קוֹל *to cry a loud voice* (comp. Rem. 1), *for to cry with a loud voice* Ez. 11, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 23; or when it has a noun in the genitive (as periphrasis of the adjective; comp. § 106, 1), as in Ps. 12, 3 הֵן יִשְׁפֹּה שִׁפְהוֹ חֲלָקוֹר *with smooth lip; with a lying tongue* לָשׁוֹן שִׁפְהוֹ Ps. 109, 2, Prov. 10, 4 עָמַל בְּחָרְמָה *with slack hand* as it were *to work a slack hand* analogous to the German: *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice; *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates, i. e. to skate; more loose is the connection of the accusative with the verb in cases like Ps. 3, 5 אָמַרְא קוֹלִי *with my (whole) voice I cry*, (i. e. *aloud*) 27, 7; 142, 2; Is. 10, 30; Ps. 66, 17 פִּי קָרְאֵנִי *with my (open) mouth I cry*: so, *they speak with their mouth* Ps. 17, 10, *help with thy sword with thy hand* Ps. 17, 13, 14, 44, 3 תְּחַלֵּץ עִמָּךְ *thou with thy hand hast driven out the nations*, 60, 7 שָׁמַר בְּיָמֶיךָ *save with thy right hand* 109, 7. (On the other hand in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33, we have יָדָה and יָדָה as subject-nominative to the Inf. וְהָיָה, see § 133, 2). In the same cases *instrumenti* is also used, e. g. *I praise with my mouth* בְּפִי Ps. 89, 2, 109, 30; *I supplicate him with my mouth* Job 19, 16.¹

¹ The Hebrews used also, on the other hand, the *instrumenti* where we have the accusative. They used indifferently, as we also may, the constructions *to shake the head* (Ps. 22, 8), and *to shake with the head* (Job 16, 4, Jer.

2. Many verbs govern the accusative by power of their original meaning or in consequence of a peculiar turn given to the latter, when the corresponding verbs in German are construed with other cases or also with the preposition; e. g. *עָנָה* to *reply to* (like ἀπεβόμαί τινα, prop. to answer one); *רִיב* causam alicujus agere (prop. to defend before the court); *בָּשֹׂר* to bring good news to one, to cheer him; *נָאָה* to commit adultery with one (comp. adulteras matronam); *עָרַב* to become surety for one (to bail him).

Rem. 1. Also in transitive verbs, and even the passive and reflexive conjugations *Niph.*, *Hoph.*, *Hithp.*, may by a peculiar turn of their original meaning, take the accusative; *חָפֵץ* to be favourable, mostly with *ךָ*, but also with the acc. (as if to wish, to will something or somebody) Is. 1, 11, *נָבֵא* to prophesy Jer. 25, 13, *נָסַב* to surround (prop. to place themselves around) Judg. 19, 22, *וַיִּזְנוּבֵל* to plot against Gen. 37, 18, *וַיַּחְבֹּבֵן* to consider Job 37, 14.

2. In very common forms of expression the accusative after such verbs may be omitted without injury to the sense (in elliptical usage), as *קָרָה* for *קָרָה לְיָרֵי* to make a covenant 1 Sam. 20, 16, *שָׁלַח* to stretch forth (i. e. יָד the hand) 2 Sam. 6, 6, Ps. 18, 17. Comp. the German nach etwas langen, to reach after something.

3. Whole classes of verbs which govern the accusative are,

- a) those which signify to clothe and unclothe, as *לָבַשׁ* to put on a garment, *מָשַׁשׁ* to put off a garment, *עָדָה* to put on as an ornament; also poet. as in *לָבַשׁוּ כָרִים הַצֹּאֵן* the pastures are clothed with flocks Ps. 65, 14 (comp. also 14, b), 104, 2, 109, 29;
- b) those which signify fullness or want, as *מָלֵא* to be full, *שָׂרַץ* to swarm (Gen. 1, 20, 21), *שָׂבַע* to be satiated, *פָּרַץ* to overflow (Prov. 3, 10, v. above No. 1, Rem. 2), *חָסַר* to want, *שָׁכַל* to lose (children); e. g. *וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם* and the land was filled with them Ex. 1, 7, *אֲנִי יוֹחֵסֶת הַמִּשְׁפָּחִים הַצְדִּיקִים* lit. perhaps the fifty righteous will want five (i. e.

18, 16); to gnash the teeth (Ps. 35, 16), and to gnash with the teeth (Job 16, 9), where head and teeth may be regarded as the object of the verb and as the instrument. But there is a deviation from our mode of expression in these phrases, viz. *פָּתַח בִּמְסָה* to open the mouth Ps. 22, 8, Job 16, 10 (prop. to make an opening with the mouth), *פָּרַשׁ בְּיָדָיו* to spread out the hands Lam. 1, 17 (prop. to make a spreading with the hands), *וַיִּלָּחֶם בְּמַטֵּהוּ* he lifted the staff Ex. 7, 20, comp. *נָתַן בְּקִיל* and *קִיל*.

- perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty) Gen. 18, 28, אֲשֶׁכֶּל נָם שְׁנֵיכֶם (why) should I lose even both of you? Gen. 27, 45;
- c) several verbs of *dwelling*, e. g. שָׁכַן, גָּר, יָשַׁב, not merely in a place (Judg. 5, 17, Is. 32, 16, Gen. 4, 20), but also among a people, with any one (Ps. 5, 5, 120, 5);
- d) those which express *going* or *coming* to a place (*petere locum*); hence בָּרַא with the accus. of the person, to come over some one, attack him. Comp. with this the accus. loci, § 118, 1.

§ 139.

VERBS WITH TWO ACCUSATIVES.

Two accusatives are governed by—

1. The causative conjugations (*Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*) of all verbs which in Qāl govern one accusative; e. g. מָלֵאתִיו רוּחַ חֵכְמָה I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom Ex. 28, 3, וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אוֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי שֵׁשׁ he clothed him in (caused him to put on) garments of fine linen (byssus) Gen. 41, 42. And so also אָזַר to gird one with Ps. 18, 33, בָּרַךְ to bless one with Deut. 15, 14, הִסֵּר to cause one to lack and צִמֶּה to crown one with Ps. 8, 6.

2. A numerous class of verbs which have even in Qāl a doubly-causative signification; such as, to cover or clothe one with anything (Ps. 5, 13, Ez. 13, 10; hence also to sow, to plant Is. 5, 2, 17, 10, 30, 23, Judg. 9, 45; to anoint Ps. 45, 8); to fill, to bestow, to deprive (Ez. 8, 17, Gen. 27, 37, Prov. 22, 23); to do one an injury (1 Sam. 24, 18); to make one something (Gen. 17, 5); e. g. וַעֲשֵׂיתָ אוֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁחָה קֹדֶשׁ and make thou it a holy anointing oil¹ Ex. 30, 25.

As in the last example, so also elsewhere, the material out of which something is made frequently stands in the accusative (comp. the German *mache daraus*, make out of it holy anointing oil), e. g. 1 K. 18, 32 וַיִּבְנֶה אֱלִיהֶזְכֶּרִי מִזְבֵּחַ and he built of the stones an altar, prop. built the stones (into)

¹ On the passives of these verbs see § 143, 1.

an altar, Lev. 24, 5. Also a bolder construction in which the material is placed last, as Ex. 38, 3 *כָּל־כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה כְּחָשׂוֹת* *all its vessels he made (of) copper* Gen. 2, 7 (in themselves these words could also signify all its vessels he turned into copper).

There is another use of the double accusative containing a closer definition of the first, by naming epexegetically the member or part of the object which is especially affected by the action, e. g. Ps. 3, 8 *thou hast smitten all mine enemies (upon) the cheek-bone* (לְחִי); comp. Deut. 33, 11, 2 Sam. 3, 27: *לֹא נָכַחַנּוּ נָפֶשׁ* *Let us not kill him*, prop. *Let us not smite him (as to his) life*, Gen. 37, 21; and so too with שָׂדֶה Gen. 3, 15. Comp. the analogous ways of using the accusative § 118, 3.

§ 140.

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS.

Those modifications of the verbal idea, which other languages indicate by composition of the verbal stem with prepositions, are expressed in the Hebrew either,—a) by appropriate verbal stems, as *בָּרָא* *to go-in*, *יָצָא* *to go-out*, *שָׁב* *to re-turn*; or—b) by prepositions written after the verb, as in English, e. g. *קָרָא* *to call*, with *ל* *to call to*, with *ב* *to call upon*, with *אַחֲרַי* *to call after*; *נָפַל* *to fall*, with *עַל* *to fall upon* and also *to fall off to*, with *לְפָנַי* *to fall down before*; *הָלַךְ* *to go*, with *אַחֲרַי* *to go after*, *to follow*.

It is the province of the Lexicon to show the use of the several prepositions with each particular verb. Whole classes of words, as construed with this or that particle will be found in § 154, 8.

§ 141.

CONSTRUCTIO PRÆGNANS.

The so-called *constructio prægans* occurs in Hebrew particularly when a verb, which in itself does not express motion towards something is nevertheless construed with prepositions (or the accus.) of direction. In such a case for the clearness of sense another verb of motion must be mentally supplied, to form the connection with the preposition; e. g. *אֶל תִּמְצָה* *to turn in astonishment to one* Gen. 42, 33, comp. 42, 28

לְרִשׁ אֶל *to turn questioning towards somebody*. Is. 11, 10, comp. 41, 1 וַיִּמְלֵא אַחֲרַי לֵלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי *he filled up to follow me* (i. e. *he obeyed me fully*), Num. 14, 24, Ps. 22, 22 מִפְּרִי רְמִים מִפְּרִי תְּהִיָּה *thou hearest (and savest) me from the horns of the buffaloes*, Is. 14, 17 לֹא פָתַח אֲסִירָיו בֵּיתָה *his prisoners he did not release (and send) home-wards*, Ps. 89, 40.

§ 142.

CONSTRUCTION OF TWO VERBS TO EXPRESS ONE IDEA.

When one verb which expresses a so-called verbal idea (one that requires an object) is more closely defined by a second verb, the latter is construed as follows, viz.—

1. It stands in the *Inf.*, either the *absol.* (§ 131, 1) or (more commonly) the *constr.*, e. g. Deut. 2, 25, 31 אָחֵל תָּחַל *I begin to give*; verse 31. Gen. 37, 5 וַיֹּסֶפֶד עוֹד שָׂנֵא אֹתוֹ *and they added still to hate him (hated him still more)*, Ex. 18, 23 וְיִסְבֹּלְהָ עִמָּד *and thou canst endure*, Is. 1, 14 נִלְאִיתִי נָשָׂא *I am weary to bear*.

2. But still more frequently it stands in the *Inf.* preceded by לְ, as Deut. 3, 24 הִחֲלִיתָ לְהַרְאוֹת *thou hast begun to show*, Gen. 11, 8 וַיִּחְדְּלוּ לִבְנוֹת *and they ceased to build*, 27, 20 מִהֲרִיתָ לִּמְצֹא *thou hast hastened to find*, i. e. *thou hast quickly found*, etc.

These two are the usual constructions in prose after verbs signifying *to begin* (הִחֲלִיתָ, הוֹאִיל, הִחֲלִיתָ), *to continue* (וָסִיתָ), *to hasten* (הִסִּירָה), *to cease* (יָדָה), *to finish* (הִסִּירָה); so also *to make good* (הִסִּירָה), *to make much or many* (הִסִּירָה), and the like modality of action (expressed, for the most part, by Hiph'il); so also with *to be willing* (הִסִּירָה), *to refuse* (מָנָה), *to seek*, *to strive for* (בָּקַשׁ), *to be able* (יָדָה), the latter signifying *to know how to do*, *to learn* (לָמַד), *to permit* (נָתַן).¹ It is to be remarked, however, that in poetry the לְ is often omitted where it is used in prose, as אָבָה *to be willing* with the לְ Ex. 10, 27, with the mere *Inf.* Job. 30, 9, Is. 28, 12, 30, 9.²

¹ *To permit one to do a thing*, is expressed by נָתַן לְעֲשׂוֹת, and נָתַן לְעֲשׂוֹת, prop. *to give or grant one to do a thing*; Gen. 20, 6 לֹא נִתְּנָה לְנֹכַח *I have not permitted thee to touch*.

² So after nouns which include a verbal idea, e. g. אֵין לָבוֹא *it is not permitted to enter in* Est. 4, 2, אֵין עֲשׂוֹהָ (poet.) *there is nothing to be compared* Ps. 40, 6; עָזִירָה *ready, prepared*, commonly with לְ, without in Job 8, 8.

3. Both verbs may be in the finite form; and they are then construed—

a) With η before the second verb, which then agrees with the first in tense (however see Rem.), gender and number (comp. our expression, *he was pleased and went*, for *he was pleased to go*); Judg. 19, 6 $\text{וְהוֹאֲלִינָא וְלִין}$ *be pleased now and lodge*, Gen. 26, 18 $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר}$ *and he returned (repeated) and digged* (i. e. *he digged again*), 2 K. 1, 11, 13; Is. 6, 13, 25, 1 *he added and took a wife* (i. e. *he took again*); Cant. 2, 3.

The construction can also begin with the *Impf.* and proceed in the *Perf.* (according to § 126, 6), as in Est. 8, 8, Deut. 31, 12 *that they may learn (Impf.) and fear (Perf.) for to fear*, Hos. 2, 11, Dan. 9, 25; or on the contrary, it may begin in the *Perf.* and proceed in the *Impf.* Josh. 7, 7, Job 23, 3, Eccl. 4, 1, 7.

b) ἀσυνδέτως , i. e. without the η and so that the union of the two verbs is more an exterior one; they are of the same tense, gender, and number (as under letter a); Deut. 2, 24 רָשׁ וְהָחֵל *begin and take possession*, Hos. 1, 6 $\text{לֹא אֶמְסִיף וְאֶרְחָם}$ *I will not go on and have pity* (i. e. *I will no longer pity*), 1 Sam. 2, 3 $\text{אַל תִּרְבֵּי וְתִדְבְּרִי}$ *do not multiply and speak* (= *speak not much*), Lam. 4, 14 $\text{בְּלֹא יִדְבְּלוּ רַגְעֵי}$ *so that they could not touch*, Job 19, 3, Hos. 5, 11, 9, 9.

This last construction (being more lively and bolder) is rather the poetical one, which under letter a, is more usual in prose. Comp. e. g. וְהוֹסִיף with η following in Gen. 25, 1, 38, 5; but without η in Hos. 1, 6, Is. 52, 1. Yet also in prose occur examples of asyndeton as in Neh. 3, 20, Deut. 1, 5, Josh. 8, 16, 1 Ch. 13, 2.

c) Likewise ἀσυνδέτως , but with the second verb in a close subordinate connection in the *Imperfect*, depending on the conjunction *that* implied; Job 32, 22 $\text{לֹא יִדְעָתִי אֲכַנֶּה}$ *I know not to flatter*, 1 Sam. 20, 19 $\text{וְשָׁלַשְׁתָּ תָרִיד}$ *and cause on the third day (that) thou come down* (i. e. *on the third day come down*), Is. 42, 21 חָפֵץ יִגְדִּיל *he desired to make great*, Job 24, 14 $\text{יָקֻם רֹצֵחַ וְיִקְטֹל}$ *the murderer arises to kill*.

Rem. In Arabic and Syriac, this construction is very common;¹ in Hebrew rarer, but at least necessary in those cases where the second

¹ The Arab says *volebat dilaceraret* for *he would rend*; and so the Syrian, *nolebat tolleret* (Luke 13, 13), *he would not lift up*, but oftener with the conjunction *that* inserted. The Latin also may omit the conjunction in this

verb was to be distinguished from the first in person or number; Is. 47, 1 *לֹא תוֹסִיף יִקְרְאוּ לָךְ* *thou shalt not add (that) they shall call thee* (i. e. *thou shalt not continue to be called*), Num. 23, 6 *אִיכָל נִכְרִיבִי* *perhaps I may be able (that) we shall smite him, and I shall drive him out.*

4. The completion of the verbal idea may finally (as frequently in Syriac) consist also of a *Participle*, Is. 33, 1 *כִּתְחִימָה שׂוֹדֵד* *when thou shalt finish as a destroyer*, i. e. *to be a destroyer*=*to destroy* 1 Sam. 16, 16 (after *Part.*).

Instead of the participle stands the *verbal adjective*, 1 Sam. 3, 2 *חָנְיָה כְּחוּר* *began (to grow) dim.* On the other hand Gen. 9, 20 *אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה* is in apposition to *נֹחַ* and the passage belongs therefore to No. 3, letter *a* (=Noah, the husbandman began to plant, etc.).

Rem. 1. In many of the above examples, the first verb only serves, in effect, to qualify in some manner the second, and hence we translate it by an *adverb*. Comp. further Gen. 31, 27 *מִיָּמֶיךָ סֵתֵרְתָּ* *wherefore hast thou secretly fled?* 2 K. 2, 10 *קָשִׁיךְ לָשָׂא* *thou hast made hard to ask* i. e. *hast asked a hard thing*. The verb which qualifies the other may also occupy the second place, but never without special cause; e. g. Is. 53, 11 *יִרְאֶה וְיִשְׂבַּע* *he shall see and be satisfied* (with the sight) because the satisfaction follows the enjoyment and 66, 11 *תִּשָּׂא וְתִשָּׂבַע* *that ye may suck and be satisfied* (by that act); Jer. 4, 5 *קְרֹא וְתִקְרָא* *call ye (and that) with full voice*=*call aloud*.

2. Of another construction are the so-called *verba cordis* (verbs indicating some mental action) which take after them (in place of an accusative) an objective clause introduced by *כִּי* or *אֲשֶׁר* *that*. Here belong especially expressions like *to see* (Gen. 1, 4, 10), *to know* (Gen. 22, 12), *to believe*, *to remember*, *to forget*, *to say*, *to think*, etc. On the omission of the conjunction before such clauses see § 155, 4, c.

§ 143.

CONSTRUCTION OF PASSIVE VERBS.

1. When a causative conjugation (*Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'il*) has two accusatives (§ 139, 1), its passive (*Pu'āl*, *Hōph'āl*) retains only one of them (the second or more remote object), taking the other (the nearest object) as the subject in the nominative.

case, *Quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *Volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cic. Brut. 84. So in German, *Ich wollte, es wäre; Ich dachte, es ginge* [and in English *I would it were, I thought it went*].

¹ For *כִּתְחִימָה* (§ 20, Rem.) *Inf. Hiph. of כָּתַם*.

This subject nominative may then consist either in an independent noun or pronoun, or (as pronominal subject) be included in the verbal form, e. g. Ps. 80, 11 *כֶּסֶף הָרִים צִלָּהּ* *the mountains are covered with its (the vine's) shade*, Ex. 25, 40 *מָרְאָה אֲשֶׁר-אַתָּה מֵרָאָה* *which was shown thee (prop. which thou wast caused to see)*; Job 7, 3.

Several striking phenomena in the construction of the passive are readily explained, if we regard it as an impersonal active (*dicitur=one says, they say*), just as, on the contrary, the impersonal active often supplies the place of the passive (see § 137, Note). This transposition is not merely an expedient, but has its foundation in the spirit of the Semitic syntax. At least according to the Arab. grammarians a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable; in places where such one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed. We may thus explain those cases, in which.—

a) The passive takes the logical subject in the accusative; Gen. 27, 42 *וַיַּגִּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת-דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו* *and they made known to Rebecca the words of Esau*, 4, 18 *וַיֵּלֶד לְחִנוֹךְ אֶת-עִירָד* *and it was born to Enoch Irad*, 17, 5 *לֹא יִקְרָא עֵד אֶת-שֵׁם אַבְרָם* *they shall no more call thy name Abram*; Ex. 10, 8, *וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת-מֹשֶׁה אֶל-פַּרְעֹה* *and they brought Moses back to Pharaoh*; Lev. 18, 27, Num. 32, 5, Josh. 7, 15, 2 K. 18, 30, Jer. 50, 20. So also with the *Inf.* of the passives, as in Gen. 21, 5 *בְּהֵאֵלָּר לֹו אֶת-יִצְחָק* *at (the time of) the being born (לֵו טָפַל יִצְחָק) to him Isaac*, 40, 20 *יּוֹם הַמָּוֶל* *the day when Pharaoh was born*.

b) It does not agree (as often happens) in *gender* and *number* with the noun, even when preceded by it (comp. § 147), because the noun is, in this case, regarded not as the subject but as the object of the verb passive, comp., besides the above examples: Is. 21, 2 *חִזְיוֹן קָשָׁה יִתְגַּלֵּי* *visionem diram nunciarunt mihi Dan. 9, 24 septuaginta septimanas destinarunt (נִתְחַדָּשׁ)*, 1 K. 2, 21, Is. 14, 3, Gen. 35, 26, Hos. 10, 6, Job 22, 9 *וְיִרְאוּ*, 30, 15.

2. The efficient cause (the personal originator), after a passive verb, most frequently takes ל, and is therefore in the dative (as in Greek), as בְּרִכָּה לַאל *blessed of God* (τῷ θεῷ) Gen. 14, 19, Prov. 14, 20. More rare, but equally certain, is the same use of מִן (prop. *from*, by which *origin, source*, in general, is often denoted) Gen. 9, 11, Ps. 37, 23, Job 24, 1, 28, 4; *בְּכַפְּרִי* *because of* Gen. 6, 13; *בְּ* *by* Gen. 9, 6, Num. 36, 2, Hosea 14, 4; sometimes there is no preposition, but the *accusat. instrumenti* is used (comp. § 138, 1, Rem. 3), as Is. 1, 20, *חֶרֶב תֹּאכֵל* *by the sword shall ye be devoured*, comp. Ps. 17, 13.

Rem. Many intransitive verbs are sometimes used as passive, in consequence of a peculiar application of their meaning; e. g. **יָרַד** *to go down* (spoken of a forest), *to be felled* Is. 32, 49; **יָסַח** *to go up for to be brought up* (on the altar) Lev. 2, 12; *to be entered* (in an account) 1 Ch. 27, 24; **סָחַר** *to be brought out from* Deut. 14, 22.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE SUBJECT WITH THE PREDICATE.

§ 144a.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject (noun or separate pronoun) is called a *nominal sentence*. It is *a) simple* when the *predicate* consists also of a *nōun* (substantive, adjective or participle); *b) compound* when the predicate is a finite verb. For, as every finite verb (v. below No. 2) bears already its subject itself and forms therefore for itself an independent sentence, therefore a phrase in which a *finite verb*, as predicate, follows the *subject noun*, is a combination of a *subject* with an *independent verbal sentence* (v. below).

Rem. Very frequently, especially in Hebrew, the *predicate* stands first in a *simple nominal phrase*; almost regularly so, when the *predicate* is an adjective, e. g. **יְהוָה צַדִּיק יְרֵיחַ** *Jehovah is just*. If the predicate is a substantive, it stands first, at least when a special stress lies on it, e. g. Job 5, 24, 6, 12 (comp. § 145, 1, b).—On the use of *independent nominal sentences* as predicates in *compound nominal sentences* v. § 145, 2.

2. Every sentence, commencing with a *finite verb*, is called a *verbal sentence*. It contains in all cases its subject already in itself, under the form of a *personal pronoun* which is necessarily connected with the verbal form (as *tu* in *dicis*, *thou sayest*). This is not only true of those cases, where the subject has already been mentioned and thus defined more

closely, but also in cases where the subject has been added afterwards, so to speak, as an *epexegesis* to the subject which is latent in the verb. For where the idea of a neuter or neutral subject (Germ. *es*) is lacking entirely and where every verbal form must be conceived in connection with a personal, or at least with a generically definite subject, a phrase like *אמר המלך*, cannot be conceived, as in German: *es sprach der König*, but: *he spoke, namely the king*.

3. This distinction between the nominal and verbal sentence although it may seem quite mechanical, has been pointed out emphatically with good reasons by the Arabic grammarians. For

- a) there exists really an essential difference between the predicate of a nominal and of a verbal sentence. The former always represents something *immovable*, a *situation*, a *being*, the latter something *movable*, *flowing*, something *which happens* or *which is doing*.
- b) the *simple nominal* sentence, connected by *Wāw* with a verbal sentence, describes a condition or state which is always simultaneous with the chief action (not a *progress* of the action) e. g. Gen. 19, 1; *and the two angels entered into Sodom, whilst Lot was sitting* (וַיֹּשֶׁב), etc.

Also the *compound nominal* sentence, connected by *Wāw*, may serve to bring in afterwards an event that has preceded the principal facts of the narration. E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3; *and Samuel was* (at that time already) *dead and Saul had driven away*, etc. (not as, e. g. the *Vulgate*: *and Samuel died and Saul drove away*) Job 21, 22. But there exist also examples, where the narrative continues even in form of a compound nominal sentence (comp. Gen. 1, 2, 8, 1). Even then the nominal sentence does not describe a new *occurrence* but a *state* which exists during the continuation of the event.

§ 144b.

MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE COPULA IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject and predicate of the simple sentence (v. § 144, a, 1, a) are always placed together without the *copula*; e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 *יהוה האלהים*, *the Eternal (is) the true God*,

Gen. 2, 12 **זָהָב הָאָרֶץ הַהוּא טוֹב** *the gold of that land (is) good*, Is. 31, 2 **גַּם הוּא חָכָם** *also he (is) wise*.—On the union of the subject and predicate by a separate pronoun of the 3d person (repeating and emphasizing more distinctly the subject idea) v. § 121, 2.

2. Less frequently the *copula* is expressed by the substantive verb **הָיָה** *to be, become*, and in that case rises a compound nominal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b), e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was* (**וַהֲיָתָה**), *waste and empty*, 3, 1 *the serpent was* (**וַהֲיָתָה**) *crafty*, vs. 20, Judges 1, 7. If on the other hand the union between a pronoun as subject and a participle as predicate is established by **יֵשׁ** or **אֵין** (§ 134, 2, a) there arise simple nominal sentences, because **יֵשׁ** and **אֵין** are properly substantives.

Rem. Instead of the adjective, the Hebrew often employs the abstract substantive as a predicate in the nominal phrase (§ 106, 1, Rem. 2); especially when there is no adjective of the required signification (§ 106, 1), e. g. Ez. 41, 22 **קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ** *his walls (are) wood=of wood, wooden*. Sometimes the hardness of such combinations is softened by repeating the subject noun in the *constr. st.*, before the predicate (**קִירוֹתָיו קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ**). This full construction occurs Job 6, 12 **אִם כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים אֲנִי** *is my strength the strength of stones?* Ps. 45, 7, b. Comp. on the other hand the bolder terms in Cant. 1, 15 **עֵינֶיךָ יוֹנִים** *thy eyes (are)-doves' eyes* (literally *are doves*) Ezra 10, 13 **זֶמַן נִשְׁמָר** *the time (is) the time of showers*. So also especially with **כִּי** of comparsion, as Is. 63, 2 **בְּגָדֶיךָ כִּי** *thy garments (are) like* (the garments of) *one treading the wine-press*, Jer. 50, 9 **חֲצֵירֵי קִבְּבוֹר** *his arrows as* (those of) *a hero*.

§ 145.

POSITION OF WORDS IN A SENTENCE. ABSOLUTE CASE.

1. According to what has been remarked § 144, a, the natural position of words in the simple nominal sentence is: *Subject, Predicate*; in the compound nominal sentence: *Subject, Verbal Predicate* (i. e. verbal copula with the completing nominal predicate); in the verbal sentence: *Verb*, subsequently the *Subject* (if expressed) and then the *Object*. Adverbial designations (such as those of time or place) may stand either

before or after the verb; a negative stands almost always immediately before it.¹

Exceptions to the above stated natural position of words occur especially when a member of the sentence has to be rendered prominent by giving it the precedence. So stands:—

- a) in verbal sentences sometimes the *object* before the *subject*, e. g. Num. 5, 23, Ps. 34, 22; the *object* before the *verb* Prov. 13, 5: *thing of falsehood hateth a righteous man*; Gen. 47, 21, Ex. 18, 23, Is. 49, 6. Very rare is the position: *Obj., Subj., Verb*, 2 K. 5, 13. Finally, there also occurs, although likewise very seldom, and only poetically the position: *Subj., Obj., Verb*, as Ps. 6, 10 יְהוָה תַּעֲזָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; 11, 5, Is. 13, 18 (quite common however in Aram., e. g. Dan. 2, 7, 10. Comp. *Gesen. Comm.* on Is. 42, 24).
- b) in nominal sentences the *Predicate* before the *Subject* and so almost regularly when the *Predicate* consists of an *Adjective* (comp. § 144, a, 1, Rem.), because this one receives then by its quality as a predicate, a special emphasis. Jer. 10, 6 גָּדוֹל אֲתָה וְגָדוֹל שְׁמֶךָ *great thou (art) and great (is) thy name*. The substantive predicate is placed first in Is. 18, 5, *ripening grape becomes the blossom*, Job 6, 12.
- c) The adverbial expression before the verb, especially (as natural) expressions of time, Gen. 1, 1. Some adverbs of time like אֲזַי, עֲתָה stand almost always at the beginning of the sentence (Josh. 10, 12, Judges 5, 22); others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד as a rule after the verb.

On the absence of inflection in the predicate when put first, see § 147.

2. The strongest emphasis of a substantive (especially when it is the subject, but also when it is the object, or when employed by way of qualification of any kind) is produced by permitting it to stand, *absolutely*, at the beginning of the sentence, and then representing it, in the following independent phrase, by a pronoun (compare Fr. *c'est moi, qu'on a*

¹ Occasionally there is inserted between the negative and the verb the object (Job 22, 7, 34 23, Ec. 10, 10), the subject (Num. 16, 29, 2 K. 5, 26), or an adverbial expression (Ps. 6, 2, 49, 18, Jer. 15, 15).

accused); e. g. Ps. 18, 31 **הָאֵל הַמִּיָּם יָרֵכוֹ** *God, perfect is his way, for God's way is perfect*. The whole forms a compound nominal sentence in which the predicate is not represented by a verbal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b) but by another independent nominal sentence likewise Ps. 104, 17, Job 21, 4, whilst in Gen. 24, 27, Ps. 11, 4 the predicate consists of a verbal sentence. Comp. also Ez. 33, 17; also in the examples: Ps. 74, 17 *winter and summer, thou hast made them, winter and summer* is not the object but the subject of the compound nominal sentence. The object stands absolutely first in Gen. 47, 21 **אֶרְדֵּיהֶם אֶרֶץ הָעַבְדִּים** *the people, he removed them*, 21, 13, comp. Jer. 6, 19.¹ The suffix may also be omitted (so perhaps Ps. 9, 7) and the connection indicated by ך (as sign of the apodosis), 2 Sam. 22, 41 (comp. Ps. 18, 41), Job 36, 26 **מִסְפַּר שָׁנָיו לֹא חָקַר**, sc. *the number of his years, even there is no searching* 4, 6, 23, 12, 25, 5, Gen. 3, 5, Num. 23, 3, Job 6, 14, 15, 17, 21, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 27, 2 Sam. 15, 34.

Sometimes the participle stands first in the above manner in the sense of a conditional sentence e. g. Prov. 23, 24 **יֹלֵד הַכֶּם כִּתְּחִלָּה** *he who begets a wise son (i. e. when one begets, etc.); then he may rejoice in him*, 1 Sam. 2, 13 **וְכֵן יָבֹא וְנָצַר יְהוֹנָדָה** *when any one brought an offering, then came the priest's servant*, Gen. 4, 15, Job 41, 18.

§ 146.

RELATION OF THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

The predicate, as in other languages, conforms generally to the subject in gender and number. From this rule, common to all languages, there are many deviations, partly occasioned by regard to the sense rather than to the grammatical form of words (*constructio ad sensum*), partly by the position of the predicate before the subject.

In respect to the first cause, we remark that,

1. Collective nouns (singular in form), e. g. **עַם** *people*, **גּוֹי** *nation*, **בֵּית** *family*, and nouns used as collective, as **אִישׁ** *men*

¹ Such a case absolute may also be introduced by ל (in respect to) before it, Gen. 17, 20, Is. 32, 1; comp. Ps. 18, 3 (?), Eccl. 9, 4, 2 Chron. 7, 21.

(see § 108, 1), are apt to be construed, according to the sense, with the plural, as in Judg. 9, 55 וַיִּרְאוּ אֲנִי־שִׁירָאֵל and *the men of Israel saw*, 15, 10, 1 K. 20, 20 וַיִּנָּסוּ אֲרָם and *Aram (the Syrians) fled*, Is. 16, 4, Prov. 11, 26, 28, 1, Job 8, 19. So when the collective is itself *fem.* but represents only, or at least prevailing, individuals which are of the *masc.* gender: e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 23 בְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ הַכֹּל the *whole land* (i. e. its inhabitants) *went*,¹ Gen. 48, 6, 1 Sam. 2, 33, 17, 47, 1 K. 10, 24, Job 32, 12; and *vice versa* in Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרְשִׁיחַ the *cattle (cows) were ploughing*. For examples of the predicate in the singular with collectives, see Gen. 35, 11, Is. 2, 4 (comp. Micah 4, 3).

Particular examples of a bolder *Enallage* of number are Gen. 34, 30 רָאִי מַחֲרִי מִכָּסֶּפֶר whilst *I (and my people) men of (inferior) number*; Job 29, 15: עֵינַי הָיוּ לְבָלֵד the *eyes I have been to the blind* (comp. Num. 10, 31).

Often the construction begins with the singular (especially when the verb is placed first, § 147, 1, *a*), and then when the collective is introduced, proceeds with the plural; Ex. 33, 4 וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם . . . וַיִּתְאַבְּלוּ and *the people heard . . . and they mourned*, 1, 20.

2. On the other hand plural nouns with a singular meaning (§ 108, 2) are often construed with the singular, especially the so-called *pluralis excellentiae*; Gen. 1, 1, 3,² Ex. 21, 29 וְעַלֵּי יֹדֶה his *owner shall be put to death*. So feminine forms with a masculine signification are construed with the masculine, as in Ec. 12, 9 הָיָה קְהֵלֵת חָכָם the *preacher was wise*.

3. Plurals which designate animals or things, whether they are *masc.* or *fem.* readily take the construction with the

¹ Sallust. Jugurth. 14, *pars in cruce acti, pars destitit objecti sunt.*

² אֱלֹהִים is here and there construed with the *plur.* but only in the older biblical books, and in certain forms of expression which perhaps may be traced back to original polytheistic ideas, or at least to an adaptation to them, e. g. Gen. 20, 13 (in conversation with a heathen), 35, 7, Ex. 22, 8(?), Josh. 24, 19, Ps. 58, 12. The later writers studiously avoid this construction, as if it were polytheistic; comp. Ex. 32, 4, 8, with Neh. 9, 18, and 2 Sam. 7, 23, with 1 Ch. 17, 21. See the Lexicons.

*fem. sing.*¹ (comp. the feminine form with collective meaning, in § 107, 3, *d*); Joel 1, 20 *בְּהֵמוֹת שֵׂיָה תִּעְרֹג* *the beasts of the field pine for*—, Job 14, 19 *תִּשְׁטֹף סִיחֵיהָ* *its floods wash away*, Jer. 49, 24 *אֶחָזָתָה חֲבָלִים* *pains have seized upon her*, 2, 15 *K'thibh*, Ps. 37, 31, Job 12, 7. Comp. also 2 K. 3, 3, Is. 35, 7, Jer. 36, 23, Ps. 69, 36 ff., Job 39, 15, in all of which cases the suffix of the *third sing. fem.* is related to plurals of animals or things.

4. Moreover, those plurals also which designate persons are construed with the singular, when, instead of the whole sum of individuals spoken of, the attention is directed to each one of them (comp. לָל for *omnes* and *omnis*); examples of this distributive singular are Gen. 49, 22 *בָּנוֹת צַעֲדָה* *the daughters (branches) rise*, Num. 24, 9 *מְבָרְכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ וְאֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר* *blessed (be every one of) those who bless thee, and cursed (each of) those who curse thee*, Prov. 3, 18 *הַמְכִּיחַ מֵאֲשֶׁר* *happy (is every one of) those who retain her (the wisdom)* 27, 16, 28, 1, Gen. 27, 29, Ex. 31, 14. Comp. also Job 6, 20: *בָּשָׂר כִּרְבָּבָה*; Is. 28, 20.

5. Dual substantives take their predicates in the plural, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns have no dual form (§ 88, 1); as in Gen. 29, 17 *וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת* *and the eyes of Leah were tender*, Ps. 18, 28, Is. 30, 20, 2 Sam. 24, 3, 1 Sam. 1, 13 *וְצִיָּה נָעוּת רֶךְ שִׁפְתֶיהָ* *only her lips moving*, 2 Ch. 7, 15 *וְעֵתָה צִיָּה* *my eyes shall see*, Jer. 14, 6, Is. 1, 15, Job 10, 8, 20, 10, 27, 4, Ps. 38, 11. Rarely with the dual does the predicate stand in the singular feminine (v. above No. 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 15, Micah 4, 11.

¹ Perfectly analogous is the Greek construction, τὰ πρόβατα σώλῃ, where the Attics admit the plural only when by the neuter persons are designated, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον τὸν ἄρτον. In Arabic, such a plural is called *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not used of men); and is construed chiefly with the *fem. sing.* of the attribute or predicate, like all its so-called *pluralia fracta* (collective forms).

§ 147.

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

(Continued.)

Very frequently deviations from the general rule (§ 146) occur where the predicate stands first. The subject, to which it would regularly conform, not being yet expressed, it often takes its simplest and readiest form, viz., the *masc. sing.*, even when the subject, which comes after, is *feminine* or *plural*: the predicate in this case is not subject to inflection; e. g.—

- a) The verb; Is. 47, 11 בָּא עָלֶיךָ רָעָה *there comes upon thee evil*, Mic. 2, 6 לֹא יָסֹג כְּלָמוֹתָ *reproaches do not depart*, Ps. 57, 2, Deut. 32, 35, Est. 9, 23 קָבַל הַיהוּדִים *the Jews undertook*, 2 K. 3, 26 חֹזֶק הַמִּלְחָמָה *hard was the battle*, 1 Sam. 25, 27, Ps. 124, 5, Job 42, 15. Often the verb may here be regarded as impersonal. More seldom before the *plur. fem.* we find (at least) the *plur. masc.*; as in Judg. 21, 21 אִם-יֵצְאוּ בָנוֹת שִׁילֹה *if the daughters of Shilo come forth*.
- b) The adjective in the nominal sentence (just as in German): Ps. 119, 137 יֵשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *righteous (are) thy judgments*, is not inflected, vs. 155 יְשׁוּעָה . . . רְחוֹק *far (is) salvation*.

Cases like Job 24, 7, 10 עֲרֹם הֵלְכִי *naked they go*, do not belong here. There עֲרֹם is rather an accusative of condition (§ 118, 3)—*in the condition of a naked one*.

- c) The participle as substantive in the nominal sentence Gen. 47, 3 רְעֵה צֹאן עֲבָדֶיךָ *shepherds (are) thy servants*, if not merely an orthographical difference or a mistake for רְעִי.
- d) The copula הָיָה when it precedes the subject;¹ Is. 18, 5 נָמַל הָיָה נָצַח *maturing grapes the blossom becomes*. In Gen. 31, 8 הָיָה הָיָה *after the plural subject may be explained from the attraction towards the following singular predicate*.

¹ Independently of this arrangement, the הָיָה, standing for the *copula*, is retained between *plur.* and *fem.* unchanged; Josh. 18, 14, אֲשֶׁר יִרְי . . . הָיָה הָיָה *the offerings of Jah . . . that is his inheritance*. Comp. Jer. 10, 3.

But if this construction is continued after the introduction of the subject, the verb must conform to it in gender and number; Ez. 14, 1 **וַיָּבֹא אֵלַי אַנְשִׁים וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לְקִנִּי** Gen. 1, 14, Num. 9, 6.

Rem. 1. In general, the language is at times sparing in the use especially of the feminine forms (comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 5), and, when a feminine substantive has more than one predicate, contents itself with giving to the nearest one the appropriate feminine form. The following are instructive examples; Is. 33, 9 **אֲבֵל אֲמַלְלָה אֶרֶץ** *the land mourneth and languisheth*, 14, 9 **עֹרֶר לָהּ רְפָאִים שְׁאֵל מִתַּחַת רִגְזָהּ** *Sheol beneath is moved . . . it stirreth up the shades to thee*. Comp. 1 K. 19, 11 and the striking change of gender in Gen. 32, 9. In Job 20, 26 in the subordinate phrase the masculine appears instead of the feminine: **אֵשׁ לֹא-נִפְחָה** *a fire not blown*.—Of a different sort are cases like Lev. 2, 1, 5, 1, 20, 6 where **נָקַשׁ** (*fem.*) in the continuation of speech is changed into a male person.

Suffixes in a (distributive) singular are related to preceding plurals, e. g. Job 38, 32, Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48, 1 K. 6, 23, Is. 5, 26.

2. The cases in which the predicate follows the subject, without conforming to it in gender and number, are based partly on the construction of passives with the accusative (§ 143, 1, Rem.) and partly the predicate is a participle used as a substantive; e. g. Gen. 4, 7 **לְפָתַח דְּבַר** *at the door (is) sin a lurker* (i. e. a lurking lion).—Ec. 2, 7 **וַיִּלְשָׁח הָיָה** *vernæ mihi erant*. Similar is Gen. 15, 17 **וַיִּלְשָׁח הָיָה** *and darkness, there was* where the verb remains in the indefinite gender (masc.) although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis.

§ 148.

CONSTRUCTION OF COMPOUND SUBJECTS.

1. When the subject is composed of a nominative and genitive, the verb sometimes conforms in gender and number to the genitive (or the second noun), instead of the governing (or the first) noun, viz., when the word in the genitive expresses the principal idea. Sometimes however the agreement of the predicate with the genitive seems to have been caused merely by their juxtaposition, e. g. Job 32, 7 **רַב שָׁנִים יִרְעֶה חֲכָמָה** *the multitude of years (i. e. many years) shall teach wisdom*, 1 Sam. 2, 4: **קֶשֶׁת גְּבָרִים חֲתִים** *the bow of the strong is broken*; 2 Sam. 10, 9 (with the predicate preceding), **הָיְתָה הַמִּלְחָמָה אֵלָיו כַּיּוֹם** *there was the battle-front against him*,

i. e. *the battle was turned against him*, Is. 2, 11, Job 15, 20, 21, 21, 29, 10, 38, 21. On the other hand, in Gen. 4, 10, Is. 52, 8, Jer. 10, 22 and others קול cannot be understood as subject, but as exclamation, so e. g. Gen. 4, 10: Voice of thy brother's blood which cries . . . ! as much as: *hearken! the blood of thy brother cries*, etc.

With the substantive כל (prop. *totality*) *the whole*, this construction is almost universal; e. g. Gen. 5, 5 וַיְיָדֵי קַלְדַּיִם אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, Ex. 15, 20; likewise with the singular abstracts of the numbers 3 to 10, 100 and 1000.

2. When *several* subjects are connected by *and*, their common predicate usually takes the plural form, e. g. Job 3, 5, Gen. 40, 1, especially when it follows them; Gen. 8, 22 וְשֶׁבַע וְקָרָא וְקָצִיר וְזֶרַע *seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease*; and in the *masc.* even with subjects of different genders, as in Gen. 18, 11 וְשָׂרָה זָקֵנָה *Abraham and Sarah (were) old*, Deut. 28, 32. When the predicate precedes, it often conforms in gender and number to the first (as being the nearest) subject; as in Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹאוּ נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and there went in Noah and his sons*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 12, 1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *and there spoke Miriam and Aaron*, Gen. 33, 7, 44, 14, Judg. 5, 1, 2 Sam. 5, 21. The singular is more rare, when the predicate follows the subject; Prov. 27, 9 וְשֶׁמֶן וְקֹטֹרֶת יִשְׂמְדוּ לֵב *unguent and perfume rejoice the heart* (where at the same time the masculine has the preference). If the construction is continued, the plural of the predicate always follows, e. g. Gen. 21, 32, 24, 61, 31, 14, 33, 7.

CHAPTER V.

USE OF THE PARTICLES.

§ 149.

Of the particles, as connected with the system of forms and inflections (§§ 99—105), we have already treated in their etymological relation to the other parts of speech. We are now to consider the signification and use of these words. As elsewhere, so also in Hebrew they compose as it were the most delicate and subtle portions of the language and are of the highest importance for a clear perception of the sense and a deeper penetration into the spirit of the language. We shall present, in a general view, their most important peculiarities, leaving the more complete representation, and specially the fuller examples, to the Lexicons.

§ 150.

OF THE ADVERBS.

The most important adverbs, classed according to their signification, are—

1. Adverbs of place; שם *there*; הנה, שם, וְהוּא and הִנֵּה *hic, here*; הִנֵּה *thither*; הִנֵּה *hither and thither*; הִנֵּה *here, hither*; הִנֵּה *thither, farther on*, hence הִנֵּה (away from thee and hither) *on this side of thee*, and הִנֵּה (away from thee and farther on) *beyond thee*, 1 Sam. 20, 21, 22, Is. 18, 2; מִלְּפָנֶיךָ more commonly מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *above*, לְ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *above*, over something, מִתַּחַת *below*, מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *upwards*, but also *above*, מִלְּפָנֶיךָ *downwards*, but also *below beneath*, חוּץ *outside*, מִחוּץ *on the outside*, מִבְּרִית *within*, בְּרִית *before*, מִבְּרִית *behind, backwards*, מִבְּרִית *backwards*, נֶגֶד *coram, over against*, מִיָּמִין *to the right*, מִיָּמִין *on the right*, מִיָּם *on the west* (prop. *from the sea*), סָבִיב and מִסָּבִיב *around*, קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *upright*.

To many of these adverbs כֵּן is prefixed, or the accusative-ending הַ— appended, indicating respectively *whence* and *whither* e. g. מִשָּׁם *thence*, שָׁמָּה *thither*; חוּץ *outside*, מִחוּץ *outwards*; several adverbs never occur without the appended הַ—, e. g. שָׁמָּה. Both these additions, however, sometimes express also the relation of *rest in*

a place, as מִמֶּנָּה *there* (not merely *thither*), מִיְמִין *on the right* (not from the right). The הֵ— is in both cases the accusative-ending (§ 90, 2), and הֵ— properly denotes *starting from* or *depending on* an object, like ἐκ δεξιᾶς, a *dextra*, a *sinistra*, a *latere*, a *tergo*, and in French *dessous*, *dessus*, *dedans*, *dehors*.¹

2. Adverbs of *time*; these are in part the same with those of place (above mentioned), which are transferred to relations of time; as שָׁם *then* (cf. ἐκεῖ); עַד-כֹּתָנָה *till now*; הָלָאָה *onward, henceforth*; עַד הַנֶּהָר and contracted עַדְהָרָה *hitherto*.

Exclusively adverbs of time are עַתָּה *at the time, hence at this time, at present, now* (also expressing consequence and transition, like νῦν, νῦν, and at times, *then, soon*; הַיּוֹם *(this day) to-day*; כְּעִיּוֹם, עִיּוֹם *at the time, now*; הַמּוֹל, אֶתְמּוֹל *formerly, yesterday*; אָמָשׁ *yester-evening, last night*; שְׁלֹשָׁה *day before yesterday* (almost always in the expression שְׁלֹשָׁה הַמּוֹל *yesterday and the day before*); מָחָר *to-morrow (cras), in the future*; מָחָרְתָּה *on the morrow*; יוֹמָם *by day*; לַיְלָה *by night*; בֹּקֶר and רֶשֶׁתָּה *in the morning, early*; כָּל-הַיּוֹם *the whole day, then all the time, always*; תָּמִיד *continually, always*; עוֹלָם, לְעוֹלָם, *for ever*; תָּנָא, לְנָא *perpetually*; אָז *then*, with reference to both past and future (§ 127, 4, a), מָאז *long since, formerly*; לְפָנִים *formerly*; קָדָר *long since*; עוֹד *again, repeatedly, commonly yet*, with a negative, *no more*; כְּאַחַד *(as one) at once, together*; יוֹתָנִי *together*; אֶתְשִׁנָּה *at first*; כֵּן *אַחֲרֵי כֵן (after so) afterwards, speedily, פֶּתָאם instantly*.

3. Adverbs for other modal ideas, as—*a) Of quality*; כְּדָה, בָּהּ *(from כָּח and בָּהּ) so*; כֵּן *very*; יָדָר *exceedingly, very*; מוֹתָר *more, too much*; כִּלְהוֹ *wholly*; כְּאַרְבָּן, כְּאַרְבָּן *(about or near nothing, about or within a little=wanting little) almost*; אֶפְסָה *so, so then* (Job 9, 24), hence often used intensively in questions (see § 153, 2, last Rem.); מוֹב and יָדָר *well*.

b) Of quantity; הַרְבֵּה *much*, לְרַב *abundantly*, רוֹחַ (riches) *enough*, הֵי followed by the genitive (prop. *sufficiency*) *enough*, as הֵי הָיָה *what is enough for thee*, רַבָּה, usually רַבָּה *much, enough*; לְבַד, לְבַד *(in separation) alone*, the first also with suffixes, as לְבַדִּי *I alone*; יוֹתָנִי *together*.

c) Of asseveration; אָמֵן, אָמֵן *truly*, אָן, אָן *certainly, indeed*; אָבֵל *yes, certainly*, also *rather, imo*, Gen. 17, 19, 1 K. 1, 43; אֵינִי *perhaps*.²

The expression of asseveration may easily pass over into that of *opposition* (comp. *verum, vero*) and of *limitation*; and hence the above-

¹ Cant. 4, 1 גִּלְגָּד מִיְמִין וְגִלְגָּד *they lie along the declivity of Mount Gilead*, i. e. as if hanging from the side. Comp. Virg. Ecl. 1, 77; Soph. Antig., 411, χαλκήμειθε' ἀπὸ πλάγος; Odyss. xxi, 420, ἐκ δὲ φροτο χαλκήμεινος.

² Probably אֵינִי is compounded of אֵי and לֵי—*whether not*, comp. Aram. אֵינִי *whether not, perhaps*, אֵינִי. It is once employed in the sense of *if not*, in Num. 22, 33, then *whether not (who knows whether not)*, consequently *perhaps*, expressing doubt, solicitude, and also hope.

mentioned affirmative particles are partly *adversative* and *restrictive*, as **אָדֹנָה** *only*, **אָבֵל** (both especially in later usage) *but*; **אָלֵם** *on the contrary* (the Sept. οὐ μὴ ἀλλὰ) is strongly *adversative*, used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and Job. Restrictive also is **רַק** (like **אָדֹנָה**) *merely*, i. e. *only*.

d) *Of reason, cause*; **לָכֵן**, **לָכֵּן**, *therefore*.—e) *Of addition*; **גַּם** *also*, and (more poetical, and expressive of increase) **אֲפֹל** (*adeo*) *yea more, even*, both which, however, often pass over into conjunctions.

4. Adverbs of *negation*; on these see § 152.

5. Adverbs of *interrogation* include all the former classes. On the pure interrogative particles **הֲ**, **אֲ**, see § 153; the question relating to *place* is asked by **אִי**, **אֵיךְ** *where?* the first with *suff.* **אֵיךְ** *where (is) he?* so **וְהִי** *where?* **אֵיךְ** *where?* **מֵאֵי** *whence?* **מֵאֵי** (from **מֵאֵי**) *whither?*—to *time*, by **מָחָר** *when?* **מָחָר** *until when?* **כַּד** *how long?*—to *quality*, by **אֵיךְ**, **אֵיךְ** *how?*—to *number* by **כַּד** *how much?* **כַּד** *how often?*—to *cause*, by **מֵמַד** (§ 102, 2, d) and **מֵמַד** (§ 99, 3) *why, wherefore?*

Most of these interrogative particles are formed by prefixing **אִי**, **אֵיךְ**, which in itself signifies *where* (comp. Germ. *wovon? wohin?*), but by usage becomes also a mere sign of interrogation before particles of place, time, etc.

In this manner, and by the application of the ending **־ה**, of the prep. **בֵּן**, and of the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, are formed whole classes of correlative adverbs, as **הֵנָּה** *here*, **מֵהֵנָּה** *hence*, **אֵיךְ** *where?* **מֵאֵי** *whence?* **אֲשֶׁר** *whence* (relative); **שָׁם** *there*, **שָׁמָּה** *thither*, **מֵשָׁם** *thence*, **אֲשֶׁר** *where*, **אֲשֶׁר** *whither*, **מֵאֵי** *whence* (see § 123, 1).

§ 151.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVERBS.

1. Adverbs not only serve to qualify the verb, but also the adjective, **מְאֹד** *very good*, and even substantives (like **ἡ χθὲς ἡμέρα**); in the latter case they stand either,—a) in apposition after it, as **אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט** *a few men* (prop. *men in fewness*) Neh. 2, 12; **חֲכִימָה רַבָּה מְאֹד** *very much wisdom* 1 K. 5, 9; or—b) in the genitive, as **קָלְלוֹת רָחֵם** *a curse uttered without a cause* Prov. 26, 2; **עַד רָחֵם** *a witness without a cause* Prov. 24, 28, where the adverb is treated *substantively*.

The adverbs also appear in the nature of substantives, when, as in the later writers, they take a preposition; e. g. **בְּבֶן** *in the so=בֵּן* Est. 4, 16, **אֶל־הָרָחֵם** prop. *for in vain*, Ez. 6, 10 (comp. *in* or *ad irritum*).

2. The repetition of an adverb sometimes denotes stress or intensity, and sometimes continual accession; e. g. **מְאֹד מְאֹד** *exceedingly* Gen. 7, 19, Num. 14, 7; **מִטָּה מִטָּה** *lower and lower* Deut. 28, 43; **מְעַט מְעַט** *by little and little* (*peu à peu*) Ex. 23, 30.

On the periphrasis of adverbial ideas by verbs, see § 142, Rem. 1.

3. In reference to the restrictive particles **אֵין**, **רַק** as well as to the augmentative **גַּם**, **אֲנִי** we should remark that they frequently affect (especially after interrogative particles) not the next following word, but the whole next following sentence, sometimes even (by skipping the antecedent) its consequent clause. Comp., as to **גַּם** 1 Sam. 22, 7, Zech. 9, 11, Job 2, 10; for **אֲנִי** Job 14, 3; for **אֵין** 16, 7, 23, 6; for **רַק** Ps. 32, 6, Prov. 13, 10.—On a similar use of interrogative particles v. § 153, 2.

§ 152.

OF THE WORDS WHICH EXPRESS NEGATION.

1. The most important adverbs of negation are **לֹא** (*subst.* Job 6, 21)—**אֵין** *not*, **אֵל**—**אֵין** *that not*, **אֵין** (the opposite of **יֵשׁ**) *there is not*, **עַד** *not yet*, **אֵין** *no more*. Almost exclusively poetic are **בִּלְי**, **בִּלְי** *not*; negative conjunctions, **אֲל**, **וְאֵין**, **בִּלְי** *that not*, *lest*.

We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

לֹא (like **אֵין**, **אֵל**) is used principally for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence it is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*), on its connection with the *Imperfect* to express *prohibition* see § 127, 3, c.—In connection with **כָּל**, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, any thing*, it expresses the Lat. *nullus, none* (comp. Fr. *ne . . personne, ne . . rien*); Ex. 12, 16 **לֹא-יַעֲשׂוּ** *no labour shall be done*, Job 33, 13, usually in the position of **כָּל** . . . **לֹא**, Ex. 10, 15, 20, 4, 2 Ch. 32, 15, Prov. 12, 21, 30, 30. So also **אֵין** with **כָּל**, Ec. 1, 9 **אֵין כָּל-יֵשׁ** *there is nothing new*. But the case is different when **כָּל** is definite, where it means *all, the whole*, as in Num. 23, 13 **לֹא תִרְאֶה** *all of him (his whole) thou shalt not see* (but only a part). Comp. also cases like Gen. 3, 1 *You shall not eat of all the trees of the garden*, as much as to say *of no tree at all*. On the use of **לֹא** in interrogative sentences, see § 153, 1.—**לֹא** serves also absolutely for negative answer, *no!* Gen. 19, 2, Josh. 5, 14, Job 23, 6.

לֹא put before a noun, either substantive or adjective, forms with it sometimes a kind of compound, as לֹא-אֱלֹהִים *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*), i. e. who is no God at all Deut. 32, 21, לֹא דָבָר *a nothing* (Germ. *Unding*) Am. 6, 13, לֹא חָסִיד *impious* Ps. 43, 1.

On the position of לֹא in the clause, see § 145, 1, Note.¹

אֵל (like מִן, Lat. *ne*) for the *subjective* and *dependent* negation is connected with the *Imperfect* (as *Jussive*); hence the phrase אֵל רִבָּא *ne veniat* means *may he not come*, or *let him not come*. See above, § 128, 2.

Sometimes אֵל stands like לֹא absolutely, without the verb (like מִן for מִן הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם לְעַד הָעוֹלָם, *ay I pray, not so*, i. e. *let it not be*; e. g. Ruth 1, 13 אֵל בְּנֹתַי *not so, my daughters*, Gen. 19, 18 (אֵל-יָנָא).—On the interrogative use of it, see § 153, 1.

אֵין (prop. constr. st. of אֵין *non-entity*) is the negative of הִיא (*he, she, it*) is, and includes the verb *to be* in all its tenses; e. g. Num. 14, 42 אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּם *the Lord is not among you*, Gen. 37, 29 אֵין יוֹסֵף בְּבֵית הַפִּיט *Joseph was not in the pit*. The same formulas are expressed positively with הִיא, and negatively with אֵין, as Gen. 31, 29 הִיא בְּיָדִי *it is in my power* (prop. it is i. e. it belongs to the power of my hand), Neh. 5, 5 אֵין לָאֵל רִנָּה *it is not in our power*.—It follows, moreover,—α) that the personal pronouns, when they are the subject of the sentence, are appended to אֵין as suffixes; as אֵינִי *I am not, I was not, I shall not be*; אֵינִי, אֵינִי, etc.—β) When the predicate is a verb, it almost universally takes the form of a participle, the verb substantive being implied in אֵין; Ex. 5, 16 הֵבֶן אֵין נָתַן *straw is not given*, vs. 10 אֵינִי נֹתֵן *I do not give*, 8, 17, Deut. 1, 32.—γ) As הִיא sometimes signifies *to be present, to be near or at hand*; so אֵין is used in the contrary sense, *to be not present or at hand*; אֵינִי *he was not present=was no more* Gen. 5, 24. Quite anomalous stands אֵין Job 35, 15 before the perfect as an emphatic negation. Comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

From אֵין (or אֵין 1 Sam. 21, 9) is formed by abbreviation the negative syllable אֵי, employed in a few compounds; as in Job 22, 30 אֵי-קָרִי *not-guillless*. In Ethiopic it is the most common form of negation, and is there used even as a prefix to verbs.

בְּלֹא (prop. constr. st. of בְּלֹא, § 90, 3, a) from בָּלָא *want, non-existence* (from verb בָּלָא) is most frequently employed before the *Inf.* when it is to be expressed negatively with a preposition; as בְּלֹא לֶאֱכַל *to eat, בְּלֹא אֶכַל not to eat* Gen. 3, 11. Barely with a finite verb for *that* not Jer. 23, 14, or *without that* Ez. 13, 3.

פָּן *a removing, an averting* (from the stem פָּנָה *to turn*) is the same as *lest, that not* (=L. *ne forte*), at the beginning of sentences indicating fear or apprehension, therefore especially after verbs signifying *to fear, to beware* (like δειδω μὴ, *vereor ne*) Gen. 31, 24, 31; but the expression of apprehension may have resulted already from the connection of speech, comp. Gen. 11, 4; 19, 5, and even Gen. 8, 22 פָּן-יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ *and now, lest he stretch forth his hand*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence, instead of destroying each other, as in Latin and English, make the negation stronger, as in Greek¹ οὐδὲ οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδὲ ἀμῶς; 1 K. 10, 21 לְמַאדָּמָה לֹא נִחְשָׁב אֵין כֶּסֶם לֹא נִחְשָׁב *silver was not at all regarded for any thing* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch. 9, 20, לֹא is wanting), Ex. 14, 11.—In Zeph. 2, 2 לֹא יָבוֹא lit. *before there shall not come*, where we drop the negative in Eng. and say *before it shall come*, Is. 5, 9 יֵשֵׁב אֵין יוֹשֵׁב prop. *without no inhabitant* (i. e. *so that there is no inhabitant*).²

3. When one negative sentence follows another, especially in the poetic parallelism, the negation is often expressed only in the first, while its influence extends also to the second; 1 Sam. 2, 3 *multiply not words of pride,—let (not) that which is arrogant come forth from your mouth* Ps. 9, 19, 35, 19, 38, 2, Job 28, 17, Is. 23, 4.

§ 153.

OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND SENTENCES.

1. Interrogation may be indicated simply by the *tone* of voice in which the words or sentences are uttered; e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 29 שָׁלוֹם לְעוֹר לְעוֹר *is it well with the young man?* Gen. 27, 24 אַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי עֵשָׂו *art thou now my son Esau?* 1 K. 1, 24. This is more frequent when the sentence is connected with a previous one by וְ; Jon. 4, 11 רָאִיתִי לֹא אֶחָד *and should I not spare?* Judg. 11, 23, 14, 16, Job 2, 10; and also after the particles וְ (Zech. 8, 6). But negative sentences can still more readily be uttered, with the interrogative tone; e. g. with לֹא, when an affirmative answer is expected (*nonne?*), Ex. 8, 22, 2 Sam. 23, 5, Lam. 3, 38; once with אֵל in expectation of a negative answer, 1 Sam. 27, 10 אֵל-פֶּשַׁעְתֶּם הַיּוֹם *ye have not then made an incursion at this time?* (see however below).³

¹ Also in Welsh, as in *nid oes dim* (*there is nothing*, prop. *there is not nothing*).—Tr.

² See more on this use of two negatives, in *Ewald's Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, § 323, a.—Tr.

³ In the same manner are used οὐκ (*nonne?*) and οὐ; the former (Hom. Il. x, 165, iv, 242) in expectation of an affirmative, the latter (Odys. vi, 200)

2. Most commonly the simple question begins with *He interrogative* ה (Lat. *num?*)¹—the disjunctive question with ה (Lat. *num? utrum?*) followed in the second clause by אם, Lat. *an?* אם—ה (= *utrum—an?*), as in 1 K. 22, 15 אִם נִהְיֶה . . . נִיָּלֵךְ *whether shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?*

To be more particular:—

The ה is strictly a sign of the simple and pure question, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; as Job 2, 3 *hast thou considered* (וְהִשְׁתָּחֵה לַבָּהּ אֶל-עַבְדִּי) *my servant?* Often he may expect a negative answer (*num?*), which he may express in his very tone; Gen. 4, 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָנֹכִי אֶת־אָדָם *am I the keeper of my brother?* Job 14, 14 *if a man die, shall he live again?* Such a question may have precisely the force of a negative assertion; 2 Sam. 7, 5 הֲבָנִיב לִי בַיִת *shalt thou build a house for me?* (in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 17, 4 לֹא אֶבְנֶה לְךָ בַּיִת *thou shalt not build a house for me*) and, *vice versa*, the negative form of the question has the effect of an affirmation, הֲלֹא *nonne? is it not so?* for הִנֵּה *behold!* 2 K. 15, 21, 20, 20, comp. 2 Ch. 27, 7, 32, 32.² On the other hand, the question may be so uttered as to show that the speaker expects affirmation and assent, when it corresponds, in effect, with the negative form of the question in English; compare the use of הָ אֵין and הָ אֵין אֵין *is not?* and of the Latin, *-ne* for *nonne?* Job 20, 4 הֲיָדָעָה הַזֹּאת הַיָּדָעָה *doest thou (not) know this?*—The rare instances in which a simple question seems to be introduced by אם are based in truth on the suppression of the first member of a double question, as we say *or perhaps* (German *oder etwa*), Lat. *an*, as in Is. 29, 16, 1 K. 1, 27, Job 6, 12.

The *disjunctive* question (*whether—or?*) is usually expressed under the form אם—ה, also אם—ה, Job 21, 4; with emphasis on the first question הֲאִם—ה, 34, 17, 40, 8, 9; yet also, with אִם or before the second clause, Job 16, 3, Eccl. 2, 19. The use of this combination אם—ה does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic parallelisms and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8), where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17

of a negative answer. But this analogy is not sufficient to gain a sense in the question 1 Sam. 27, 10 in connection with David's answer. But probably for אִם in 1 Sam. 27, 10 we should read אֵין after the Sept. ἐν τῷ (אֵין—אֵין).

¹ The omission of the ה occurs especially before a following guttural (so plainly before ה Job 38, 18) to avoid the hiatus.

² In a similar manner, הָ *what? [why?]*, spoken with indignation expresses prohibition under the form of reproach or expostulation; Cant. 8, 4 הָ *why do ye rouse?* Job 16, 8, 31, 1. This negative force of הָ is very frequent in Arabic.

is man just more than God, or (אֲנִי) is a man pure more than his Maker? 6, 5, 6, 8, 3, 10, 4, 5, 11, 2, 7, 22, 3; hence וְ also stands before the second clause in such cases (instead of אֲנִי), Job 13, 7, 15, 7, 8, or there is no particle at all to connect the clauses, as in Job 23, 4.—Now and then וְ stands again in the second member, as in Judg. 14, 15 (where there is actual opposition); but more usually in a continued, double question, as in 1 Sam. 23, 11; where however not a disjunction but connecting of two simple questions takes place. In Job 6, 12 אֲנִי stands already in the first member of a double questions; followed by אֲנִי (v. 13) in the third question.

In the so-called *indirect*¹ questions, after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining, the simple question takes either וְ (*whether*) Gen. 8, 8, or אֲנִי Cant. 7, 13, 2 K. 1, 2; the disjunctive question (*whether—or*) אֲנִי—וְ Gen. 27, 21, Ex. 16, 4, and also וְ—וְ Num. 13, 18 upon which again אֲנִי—וְ follows.—The formula אֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ אֲנִי (*who knows if*; i. e. *whether or not*) is also used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14.

For interrogative adverbs of place, time, etc., see § 150, 5.

The words וְ (§ 122, 2) and אֲנִי *now, then*, (§ 150, 3), serve to give animation or intensity to a question (like *nowé, tandem*, Eng. *then, now*); as אֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ אֲנִי *what aileth thee now? quid tibi tandem est?* Is. 22, 1; אֲנִי אֲנִי *where then?* Job 17, 15.

As the other particles (§ 151, 3) so also the interrogatives affect sometimes, not the next following but only the second one of two co-ordinate sentences; so וְ Job 4, 2, וְ לֵא 4, 21, וְ מִי Is. 5, 4; 50, 2.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (the second person becomes the first in Gen. 27, 24, Judg. 13, 11) Gen. 29, 6, 1 Sam. 23, 11; the negative answer is לֹא *no* Gen. 19, 2, see § 152, 1.

§ 154.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

1. The *simple*² prepositions, like the adverbs, originally denote for the most part physical relations, viz. those of

¹ It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and indirect question could not have been as clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance, to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood or by the position of the words (as in German).

² Among these we reckon such forms as לְפָנַי, לְפָנֶיךָ, which in themselves are indeed compound words, but as prepositions they express only one idea, and are thus distinguished from the compounds under No. 2, e. g. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ *from before*.

space, and are then used for intellectual relations, as those of time, cause, etc. The prepositions of place originally denote either *rest* in a place, or *motion* from or to a place.

a) The most important prepositions of *place* are:—

- a) Of *state* or *rest*, **ב** *in, at, by*, **על** *upon and over*, **תחת** *under, instead of*, **אחרי** *behind, after*, **לפני** *before*, **נגד**, **נכח**, **מול** *before, opposite to*, **אח** (**אח-אח**) *with, by*, **אצל** *on the side, by, near*, **בצד**, **בקר** (prop. *in proximity to*) *behind, about* (אחפ), **בין** *between*, **עבר** *on the other side, beyond*.
- ב) Of *motion*, **מן** *from*, **אל** and **ל** *to, towards*, **עד** *unto, as far as*; and also (from the former class) **ב** *into*, **על** *upon, towards*.
- b) Very many of the above-mentioned prepositions express also relations of *time*, as **ב** *in*, *within*, **מן**, **אל**, **עד**, etc.
- c) Of those which denote other relations we may mention, **ב** (Lat. *instar*) *as*, (**כד** *as often as*, **בפ** *according to*), **עם** *together with, with*, **ול**, **בלי** *without, besides*, **לפני**, **לפני** *on account of*, **עקב** (prop. *as a reward*) *for, because*.

2. The Hebrew language developes a great degree of dexterity and accuracy of discrimination in the *compounding* of prepositions. Thus, those of motion are combined with others denoting rest, so as to express not only a *change* of relation, but also the state which was existing before the change, or which is to follow as the result of it, as in French *de chez, d'auprès*.¹ So—

- a) with **מן** **מאחור** *from behind*, **מבין** *from between*, **מעל** *from upon or above*, **ממע**, **ממא** *from with* (Fr. *de chez quelqu'un*), **מתחת** *from under*.
- b) with **אל** (not so often): **אל אחרי** *to behind or after*; **אל-מן** (prop. *to out from*) *even out from* Job 5, 5; **ל** **מחוץ** *without, i. e. on the outside of*, **ל** **מחוץ** **אל** *forth without* Num. 5, 3.

Adverbs also compounded with prepositions, take after them **ל** (more seldom **מן**), and again become prepositions; e. g. **מעל** (adv.) *above*, **ל** **מעל** (prep.) *above, over*, **מתחת** (adv.)

¹ When the Hebrew says, Is. 6, 6: **על המזבח** *he took the live coal from upon the altar* (away from the top of the altar), he presents the idea fully; while it is but half expressed in the Fr. *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, the Germ. *er nimmt den Hut vom Tische weg* = the Eng. *he takes his hat away from the table*, the Fr. omitting one relation, the Germ. and Eng. another.

below, לְמִתַּחַת (prep.) *below, under*, לְמַחוץ (prep.) *without, separately, aside*, מִן לְבַד *aside from, besides*.

This accessory preposition may also precede the adverbial form; e. g. לְבַד מִן מִלְכָּדִי *besides, without*, Syr. ܠܒܕܡܢܡܠܟܕܝ¹; rarely it is wholly wanting, as מִתַּחַת לְ (for לְ מִתַּחַת) Job 28, 5.

3. We will now present a few prepositions (such as occur most frequently and have the greatest variety of meaning), with their principal significations, in order to explain their construction with verbs (§ 140), and the most important idioms connected with them.

a) אֵין, which, of all the prepositions, has the greatest variety of significations, denotes,—1) prop. rest *in* a place (ἐν), hence *in* with reference to time, and to state or condition, as בְּיָמָיו, בְּרֵאשִׁיתוֹ, בְּחַיָּיו— with reference to a company, or number of individuals, *among*, e. g. בְּעָרֵם— with reference to bounds or limits, *within*, as בְּשַׁעְרֵיהֶם *within the gates*, בְּעֵינָיו *in the eyes*, i. e. *in the reach of the eyes* (ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Iliad I, 587);—of high objects, *upon*, as בְּשִׁפְסִיִּם *upon horses* Is. 66, 20 (at the same time transition to the idea of *clinging* to something v. below); but it has rarely all these significations after verbs of motion= εἰς (like *ponere in loco*).² The Hebrew says,—α) to drink *in* a cup (because a part of the face is in it) Gen. 44, 5 (so in Arabic and Aram., Dan. 5, 2, ἐν ποτηρίοις, ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνευ Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4, 3 Ezr. 3, 6, *in ossibus bibere* in Florus, French *boire dans une tasse*);—β) *in* the manner, *in* the model or rule, for *after* the manner or model (comp. ἐν τῷ σόμῳ, *hunc in modum*), as אֵין קִרְבָּר מִן *according to the command of*, אֵין בְּצַוֹּת מִן *according to the counsel of any one*, מִן מִדְּמוּתוֹ *in (after) our image, after our likeness* Gen. 1, 26, (comp. vs. 27, and 5, 1) 5, 3 *Adam begat a son* מִן צֶלֶם אֱדָם. Also in these examples the idea of *clinging to, attaching to* a model is mingled with that of being *in* a sphere; comp. also Gen. 21, 12 *in Isaac* (בְּיִצְחָק) *thy seed shall be called*, i. e. it shall be attached to Isaac when Abraham's descendants are spoken of.—To the same category (of sphere, norm, etc.) belongs finally the so-called אֵין *instrumentale* e. g. בְּשֵׁבֶט *with the staff* (Micah 4, 14); even of a person בְּךָ *by thee* (Ps. 18, 30). A kind of אֵין *instrumentale* is the so-called אֵין *pretii* (the price being considered a means of obtaining

¹ In the Syr. ܠܒܕܡܢܡܠܟܕܝ means *over*, as preposition, but ܠܒܕܡܢܡܠܟܕܝ *above* as adverb (see Hoffmanni, Gram. Syr. p. 280). The Hebrew in like manner says לְמִן *from* (a starting point) *onward*, for לְ, precisely the Lat. *usque a, usque ex*, comp. also *inde*.

² When the אֵין seems to stand for *motion* (אֵין), like ἐν for εἰς or Lat. *in* (as in the above example), the idea of *rest* (in which the *motion* ends) really predominates in the mind, e. g. מִן קִרְבָּר.—Tr.

verbs of *covering, protecting*, *קָנַן עַל*, *קָנָה עַל* (prop. *to place a covering, a shield, over*); and so also with those of kindred meaning, as *לְקָחַם עַל* *to contend for one* (i. e. *to protect one*), Judg. 9, 17. It is used for *at, by, before, near*, in cases where there is an actual elevation of one of the related objects above the other, conceived as an impending *over* as for instance the standing person reaching over the sitting persons (Job 1, 6), the tree *on* the brook reaching over the surface of the water (Ps. 1, 3) etc.; comp. also *עַל-יָדוֹ*, *עַל-יָדָיו* (Job 1, 14) *near, על יד, on the side*. Hence, it expresses the relation of motion to the object at which it terminates, *to, towards* (especially with hostile intent) so that in the later Hebrew style and in poetry it is often used for *אֶל* and *לְ*; see Lex.

c) *מִן* (§ 102) indicates *motion, removal, away from* anything. Its fundamental signification is that of *separation from a whole, derivation, descent*. As *constr. st.* of a noun *מִן* *part*, it properly means *part of*, hence *off, from*, used at first with reference to the part which is taken from the whole, e. g. *to give, to take part of=from*. This fundamental signification appears plainest, when it expresses *some* (more rarely one) *of*, before the whole from which a part is taken, e. g. *מִן־יְהוּדָה* *some of the princes of Israel* 2 Ch. 21, 4, *מִדָּם* *some blood* (Fr. *du sang*). It has the same signification when (apparently pleonastic) it is connected with the words *one, none*, in the so often misapprehended idiom of the Hebrew and Arabic *non ab uno*, i. e. *not any one, not the least*, prop. not even a part, a piece, the least portion, of one; and so in Heb. without negation=Lat. *ab uno* for *ullus*, Lev. 4, 2, Deut. 15, 7, Ez. 18, 10.¹

In its most ordinary use, with reference to motion *away from* (*from out of* something, *e numero*, 2 K. 10, 24 and even absolutely: *far, rid of*, Job 19, 26) it forms the opposite of *אֶל, עַד*, and is employed not merely after verbs which express actual motion, as *to depart (from)*, *to flee (from)*, but also those of kindred signification, as *to be afraid, to hide, to beware*; comp. in Gr. and Lat. *καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab*. In its tropical use with reference to time, it may mean either *from* (a time) *on*, in which case the reckoning is to be made from the *beginning*, not from the end of the period specified (like *ἀπὸ νυκτός, de nocte, from the setting in of night*), as *מִיְהוּדָה* Job 38, 12 *from the beginning of thy days onward*; or it may mean (counted from the expiration of a term) *next from*, i. e. *immediately after* (*ἐξ ἀπλοῦ, ab itinere*), as *מִתְקִיץ* (Ps. 73, 20) *immediately after awaking*, Gen. 38, 24 *immediately after the expiration of three months*, Hos. 6, 2; very often in the same way *מִתְקִץ* *from the end*, i. e. *after the expiration of*.—On the idea of *going out from* is based finally the very frequent *causative* use, *for, on account of, in consequence of* (comp. the English *that comes from*....).

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus, II, p. 801.

For the use of it to denote *rest on the side* of an object, where the idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from* (the Lat. *prope abesse ab, pendere ex aliqua re*), see § 150, 1. For the use of כֵּן for expressing the comparative, see § 119, 1.

d) אֶל, אֵלַי (prop. *region, direction*, hence *towards*) denotes *motion*, and also merely *direction towards* (with reference both to physical and to intellectual objects) whether that towards which the motion is directed is reached or not. In the former case it is equivalent to עַד, e. g. אֶל-פִּי-יָוֵה even unto his mouth Job 40, 23; when it means entering into a thing, it is equivalent to אֶל-תּוֹךְ, e. g. אֶל-תּוֹכָהּ to go into the ark.

Rarely, and only by power of pregnancy in the expression, regarding the motion which leads to the end instead of the end itself, אֶל is sometimes employed to denote rest in a place at which one has arrived; Jer. 41, 12 they found him אֶל-יַם־רַבִּים by great waters. אֶל-דִּמְקוֹם at the place Deut. 16, 6, 1 K. 8, 30. Compare the Gr. εἰς, ἐς, for ἐν, e. g. δόμους μένειν Soph. Ajax, 80; so too in Acts 8, 40 εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωπον. The German use of zu in zu Hause, zu Leipzig, is quite analogous.

e) לְ is distinguished from אֶל, of which it is an abbreviation, by the fact that it expresses *direction* (not *movement*) towards something in a more general way,¹ as well as by being more commonly used in the metaphoric senses.—From its fundamental idea of *inclining towards, direction towards*, may be explained both the use of לְ as *nota dativi* and as periphrasis of the *genetivus possessoris*, or *auctoris* § 115, 2 (the idea of belonging to) as well as its signification *with respect to, on account of, in behalf of*. The *dativus commodi* is used pleonastically (especially in the language of common intercourse and in the later style) after verbs of motion, as *to go, to flee*, especially in the *Imperative*, e. g. לָךְ-יָדֹעַ go, get thee away, בָּרַח-לָךְ flee (for thy safety); but also after other verbs, as הָיָה לָךְ be thou like Cant. 2, 17.—It is a solecism of the *later time* (common in Aram. and Ethiop.) when active verbs are construed with לְ instead of the accusative, as שָׁלַח לְ in Ezr. 8, 16; 2 Ch. 17, 7.

Very often also, it denotes *rest*, hence *at*, or *in*, with reference to place and time; as לְיְמִינֶךָ on thy right, לְעֵתָּה at eventide.—On its use after passive and other verbs to denote the efficient cause or author, see § 143, 2.

f) כֵּן (prop. substantive, Lat. *instar*, as an adverb *about, nearly*), as a prep. *as, like to*; for denoting similarity it is doubled כֵּן-כֵּן as—so Gen. 18, 25, and also so—as in Gen. 44, 18, in later authors כֵּן-כֵּן; according to, after, from the idea of conformity to a model or rule; as a designation of time *at* (not *about*, especially Gen. 18, 10 כֵּן-כֵּן at this

¹ Comp. Giesebrecht, Die hebr. Praepos. Lamed (Halle 1876), S. 4 ff.

time—at the same time), the supposition of so-called *Kāph veritatis* is justified if only the correct idea is connected with it. According to the older grammarians such a *Kāph veritatis* stands pleonastically not to indicate similarity but the thing itself, in cases like Neh. 2, 7 *for he was* אֱמִיץ אִישׁ; this is however not merely predicate=*a faithful man* but *as a faithful man must be*; 1 Sam. 10, 27; 25, 26, Is. 1, 7, Job 27, 7.—Comp. also כִּמְעַט in places like Ps. 105, 12=*very little* (elsewhere *almost easily*).

4. In the poetic parallelism, a preposition which stands in the first member may be omitted in the corresponding place in the second member; e. g. ב, Is. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure on Babylon* (בְּבָבֶל), and *his power on the Chaldeans* (בְּכַשְׁדִּים for בְּחִשְׁדִּים), Hab. 3, 15, Job 15, 3. So also ל Job 34, 10, Is. 28, 6, עַד 15, 8, לְמַעַן 48, 9, מִן Is. 30, 1, מִתַּחַת Is. 61, 7. Comp. § 152, 3.

§ 155.

THE CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The Hebrew language, considered with regard to its conjunctions, and especially its ability to form them from most of the prepositions by the addition of אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (§ 104, 1, c), exhibits no small copiousness and flexibility, compared with its usual simplicity. But the writers have often neglected the means, which it furnishes for accurately expressing the relations of sentences and members of a sentence, contenting themselves with less perfect modes of connection¹; hence the various significations which certain conjunctions in frequent use (particularly כִּי, אֲשֶׁר, וְ) either actually have, or at least seem to require when translated into our Western languages, as these do not always permit us (see No. 3) to retain such a loose and indefinite connection.

Of the most extensive application is וְ, § 104, 2);² it stands:

a) Properly and usually *copulative* (our *and*), connecting single words as well as whole sentences. When three or more words stand in connection, it is used either before every one after the first (2 K.

¹ Comp. a similar case in § 107, 1, Rem., § 147, Rem. 1.

² See fuller particulars on the use of *Wāw copulative*, in *Gesenii Thesaurus* I, p. 393 *et seqq.*

23, 5), or before the last only (Gen. 13, 2); rarely after the first only (Ps. 45, 9). In certain set-phrases it is commonly omitted, as *yesterday* (and) *the day before* Ex. 5, 8. The tone of animated description or narration may also occasion the omission of it (*constructio asyndeta*); as Judg. 5, 2 *at her feet he bowed, fell, lay*, Job 20, 19, Cant. 2, 11, 5, 6.

As connecting words, it is often *explicative* (like *isque, et—quidem*=Germ. *und zwar*; so-called *Wāw explicativum*), 1 Sam. 28, 3 בָּרָכָהּ וַיְבָרֶכְהָּ *in Ramah and* (that is) *in his own city*, 17, 4 (and in truth with the bear) 2 Sam. 13, 20, Amos 3, 11, 4, 10; also in a manner that the second idea could be subordinate as the genitive (the שֶׁל הַדָּבָר *of the grammarians*), e. g. Gen. 3, 16 תַּאֲבִיבָהּ וְחִירָתָהּ *thy pain and thy conception*=the pain of thy conception (unless the ו has an emphatic sense=and especially thy conception); perhaps also Job 10, 17 2 Ch. 16, 14 וְחִירָתָהּ וְשִׁמְרָתָהּ *spices and sorts*, in the sense of *all sorts of spices*. A sure example of the so-called *Wāw concomitantiae* is Job 41, 12: *a boiling pot* וְאֶגְבֵּן *with* (fire of) *rushes*. In Arabic this *Wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

As connecting clauses or sentences, it denotes either *continuation* (for *then* or *that*), hence before the apodosis (like German *da, so*) and after absolute designations of time (see Gen. 3, 5, 27, 30, Ex. 16, 6, Josh. 2, 8, Prov. 24, 27 וּבְנִייתָ אַחֲרַי *afterwards, then build thy house*) comp. § 145, 2; or *enhancement*, as in Job 5, 19 *in six troubles he will deliver thee, yea, in seven no evil shall befall thee*; וְשִׂאֲלִי *rather ask immediately* . . . 1 K. 2, 22; or *comparison*, especially in the proverbial poetry when facts of the moral world are put in comparison with facts of the physical world. Compare Job 5, 7 *man is born to trouble, and so the sons of the flame fly on high, for just as these* (sparks, acc. to their nature) *fly high, so is, etc.*, 12, 11, 34, 3; Prov. 17, 3; 25, 3; 12, 25. But the *Wāw* is also—

b) To introduce the subject of sentences expressing a *state* or *circumstance* (comp. on this kind of *nominal sentence* § 144, a, 3, b)=*while* e. g. 2 Sam. 4, 7 *they came into the house and* (=while) *he lay on his bed*, Gen. 19, 1, Judg. 13, 9; also if the circumstantial clause is *at the same time adversative* (e. g. *and yet, since however, while yet*), Judg. 13, 15 *how canst thou say I love thee* אֲהַי אִין וְלִבָּךְ *and* (yet) *thy heart is not with me* (i. e. *while yet*)? Gen. 15, 2; 18, 13; 20, 3, Ps. 28, 3 *who speak peace with their fellows* וְיִרְצֶה בְּלִבָּבָם *and* (=while yet) *mischief is in their heart*, Jer. 14, 15 *who prophesy in my name* לֹא-שִׁלַּחְתִּים *and yet I have not sent them*.

c) To introduce a causal clause Ps. 60, 13: *give us help from trouble and* (because) *vain is the help of man*, Job 23, 12.

d) *Inferential* (then, so then, therefore); Ex. 18, 32 *I delight not in the death of him that dieth* וְיִשְׁכַּח-יִשְׁכַּח *therefore turn ye*. In this sense it may stand even *at the beginning of a sentence*, when it implies an inference of some kind from circumstances already mentioned; 2 K. 4, 41

and he said וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה then take meal, Ps. 4, 4 יָדַעְתֶּם then know ye, 2, 10, 2 Sam. 24, 3.

e) before phrases indicating a purpose or aim *in order that, so that*; in this sense chiefly with the *Perf. consec.* (126, b) cohortative or jussive (§ 128).

Of scarcely less extensive application are the two relative conjunctions וְאֲשֶׁר and כִּי (=ὅτι, *quod, quum, that, because*) which run almost parallel with each other in their significations, except that כִּי occurs as a conjunction far more frequently and in a great variety of senses, while וְאֲשֶׁר serves at the same time as *nota relationis* and often directly as a relative pronoun, and takes prefixes.

Both are prefixed (like *quod*) to a whole clause, standing as an accusative, governed by the preceding active verb as its object. וְאֲשֶׁר is even preceded in such a case by the accusative particle הָא; Josh. 2, 10 וְאֲשֶׁר-הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֶת הָאֶרֶץ לְפָנֵינוּ *we have heard (id quod exsiccavit) that Jehovah hath dried up*, (for which elsewhere simply וְאֲשֶׁר לְפָנֵינוּ and still oftener כִּי לְפָנֵינוּ), 1 Sam. 24, 11, 19. Hence the following uses of כִּי:—a) it is employed especially before words of a *quotation*, like the Gr. ὅτι (very seldom וְאֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 15, 20);—b) as a *temporal* conjunction=ὅτε, prop. (at the time) *that*, (at the time) *where*, therefore *as when*, sometimes sharply distinguished by the signification *ut, supposing that*, from the conditional הֲנָ *when* (v. Ex. chap. 21, which is very instructive in this regard) at other times passing over to the conditional power of הֲנָ *when—if*, Job 38, 5, comp. vs. 4 and 18 (seldom וְאֲשֶׁר, Lev. 4, 22, Deut. 11, 28);—c) *causal, eo quod, because*, fully וְכִי, וְכִי, *propterea quod*, also *for*=עַל. Often the causal signification of כִּי passes over into that of a particle of assurance (*certain it is, that; yes, to be sure*), especially after other particles of this kind;—d) *adversative* (in which sense כִּי only is used) either,—α) after a negative, *but*, prop. *because*, e. g. thou shalt *not* take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites—but a Hebrewess, i. e. *because* thou shalt take a Hebrewess, the former being prohibited *because* the latter is to be done Gen. 24, 3; or,—β) where negation is only implied, e. g. after a question which involves denial (§ 153, 1, 2), when it may be rendered *no but, but no, for surely* (ἀλλὰ, γάρ), Mic. 6, 3 what (injury) have I done to thee? . . . *for surely* I brought thee up, etc. Job 31, 18 (*rather*). See on הֲנָ below in No. 2, i,—e) also *final* (in which sense וְאֲשֶׁר alone is used)=*in order that*, (usually לְמַעַן v. No. 2, e) e. g. Gen. 11, 7. Dent. 4, 40, etc.

2. We now arrange the remaining conjunctions according to their significations, and in the case of those (very many in number) that have a variety of senses, exhibit together the different uses of each as it first occurs. We must, however, confine ourselves here to a brief general

notice, leaving the more complete view, with the references and proofs, to the Lexicons.

a) *Copulative*: besides the *Wāw*, the properly adverbial forms **וְ** also, and intensive **וְאֵף**, there is added, wholly, even, once combined **וְאֵף-וְ** and even also Lev. 26, 44. **וְ** is often used with a number to include all, e. g. **וְשְׁנַיִם** **וְ** **כָּל** both the two, all together. It also merely gives emphasis to the following word; Gen. 29, 30 and he loved **וְאֵף-רָחֵל** *Rachel* (not, also Rachel) more than Leah, 1 Sam. 24, 12.—**וְאֵף-כִּי** is prop. add that, hence not to mention, or according to the connection, much more, much less.

b) *Disjunctive*: **וְאִי** or (etym. free will, choice, hence prop. Lat. *vel*, but also *aut* with an exclusive antithesis 2 K. 2, 16). Sometimes it stands elliptically for **וְאִי כִּי** or (be it) that, or (it must be) that, when it may be rendered unless that, e. g. Is. 27, 5;—hence the transition to the conditional sense, if, but if, Ex. 21, 36 (the Sept. ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*), comp. also **וְאִי** in **וְאִי-לִי**, § 150, 3, Note. Repeated, **וְאִי-וְאִי** (*sive—sive*), it is the same as **אִם-אִם**, or **וְאִם-וְאִם**.

c) *Temporal*: **כִּי**, **אֲשֶׁר**=**ὅτε**, *quum* (see above), for which more rarely is used the conditional particle **אִם** (Is. 4, 4, 24, 13); **עַד כִּי**, **עַד אֲשֶׁר**, **עַד** **אֲשֶׁר** **אִם**, **עַד** **אֲשֶׁר** **אִם** until that, also **אִם** **עַד** **אֲשֶׁר** **אִם** until that when, **עַד** also during, so long as, **אֲשֶׁר** **אַחֲרַי** **אֲשֶׁר** after that, **כִּי** (for **מֵאז** **אֲשֶׁר**) since that, **בְּפָנֶיךָ** and **בְּפָנֶיךָ** before, **קִדְמָתָא** **אֲשֶׁר** before (Ps. 129, 6).

d) *Causal* (besides **כִּי** and **אֲשֶׁר**, No. 1, e): **עַל כֵּן** **אֲשֶׁר** because, but **כִּי-עַל-כֵּן** (Gen. 18, 5, 19, 8, 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Q^{re}*) and **אֲשֶׁר-עַל-כֵּן** (Job 34, 27) signify everywhere for therefore, see *Ges.* W. B. 8th ed. under **כִּי**; **עַל** **דְּבַר** **אֲשֶׁר**, **עַל** **אֲדֹמֹת** **אֲשֶׁר**, prop. for the circumstances that=for this cause that, and emphatically **עַל-כֵּן-אֲדֹמֹת** **אֲשֶׁר** for the very cause that, **עַל-פְּנֵי** **אֲשֶׁר** on the account, that, and **עַל-פְּנֵי** **כִּי** therefore that, and **עַל-פְּנֵי** **כִּי** like the preceding (prop. as a reward that).

e) *Final*: **לְמַעַן** **אֲשֶׁר** to the end that, **בְּעֲבוּר** **אֲשֶׁר** in order that (also causal), **וְ** that=in order that (see above), **לִי** (like the Arab. *li*) according to the present reading 1 K. 6, 19. With a negative force: **אֵל** **כֵּן** that not, less (§ 152).

f) *Conditional*: principally **אִם** and **לִי** (for which in the later books rarely **לִי-אִם**) if. The first (which is also a particle of interrogation, § 153, 2) is purely conditional, leaving it uncertain whether what is expressed by the verb is actually doing or actually done, or not, yet rather the former (as, if I do—have done—shall do); on the contrary, **לִי** expressly implies that it is not so, is not done (if I should do—had done); at least that it is very uncertain and even improbable.¹ Hence

¹ Hence **לִי** serves also to express a wish, as in **לִי-יָרֵיחַ** *would! we had died* Num. 14, 2, **לִי-יִחְיֶה** *would! he may live* Gen. 17, 18, even with the Imper. (§ 130, 1, § 136, 2). On **לִי** comp. *Kohler in Geiger's Ztschr. f. Wissensch. u. Leben*, VI (1868), p. 21, ff. (where however a good deal, especially the etymology should be modified).

אם may properly stand where לִי more accurately (Ps. 50, 12, 139, 8, Hos. 9, 12); but לִי cannot be used for אם. Especially in solemn asseveration, conditional imprecation, אם is used; Ps. 7, 4—6 אֶם-קִשְׁתִּי וְגו' אֶם-יִרְדּוּ-יָדָי-יְהוָה if I have done this—(then) let the enemy persecute my soul, etc. One supposes as possible or real that one has committed something or other and demands the most fearful punishment if it is really so; Ps. 137, 5; comp. also Ps. 44, 21, 73, 15.

NB. What has been said of אם and לִי holds good, also, when they are connected with the negative, as in לֹא אם, לֹא לִי, and לֹא לִי. It must be observed further, that אם, after forms of swearing, e. g. ה' יחיה as the Lord lives stands as a negative (and consequently לֹא אם as affirmative), 2 Sam. 11, 11, 20, 20. This may be explained simply by the omission of the imprecation as principal clause to which the clause introduced by אם or לִי אם is subordinate. Sometimes this form is found complete e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 22; מוֹדִיעַשָׁהוּ אֱלֹהִים לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד וְכֹחַ יָסִיף אִם- so and more also do God unto the enemies of David if I leave, etc. (but instead of אם stands after this form also עַיִן e. g. 2 Sam. 8, 35 אם עַיִן דָּוִד וְכֹחַ יָסִיף אִם- so may God do to me and more also if).—But אם and לֹא אם do not stand simply in such forms as these after verbs of swearing and adjuring (=not Cant. 2, 7; 3, 5) but also absolutely as strong negations (אם Judges 5, 8, Is. 23, 14) or solemn asseveration (לֹא אם truly e. g. Job 22, 20). On אִם, עַיִן, as passing over into conditional particles, see above.

g) *Concessive*: אם, with the Perf. even if (=though) I am Job 9, 15, with the Impf. (though I were) Is. 1, 18, 10, 22; עַל (for אִם) although Is. 53, 9, Job 16, 17 really add to this that=notwithstanding that); עַל עַיִן even when, although (also inverted עַיִן עַל or עַל alone).

h) *Comparative*: כַּאֲשֶׁר as (quemadmodum), often with כֵּן in the second member, as—so, Is. 13, 4, 52, 14, 15; but כַּאֲשֶׁר may be omitted in the protasis, Is. 55, 9, Ps. 43, 6, and כֵּן in the apodosis, Obad. 15. Exact conformity is expressed by כֵּן-כַּאֲשֶׁר in all points as, Ec. 5, 15.

i) *Adversative*: (see on the adverbs). Decidedly here belong עַיִן אִם only that—but, nevertheless, and the difficult combination עַיִן אִם, prop. that if, for if, but if. In these cases both particles belong in reality to different clauses (עַיִן to the principal, אִם to the conditional). Elsewhere both form together an inseparable idea, either but (especially after negations, or their equivalents, comp. עַיִן above No. 1 at the end), prop. but when, as may be clearly seen for instance Ps. 1, 2—or except when, except. In both significations אִם עַיִן may stand before a verb as well as before a noun. Sometimes the clause to which אִם עַיִן states an exception must be completed from the connection, e. g. Gen. 40, 14: (else I do not demand anything) except that thou remember me=only thou mayest etc. Micah 6, 8, Job 42, 8.

k) On the interrogative particles, see § 153.

b) On the *optative* particles, see on ו above, under letter *f*, Note¹; on ׀—in § 105, 2, Note,² and § 126, 4, Note¹.

3. A certain brevity and incompleteness of expression (see No. 1) appears,¹ among other things, in this, that instead of the whole compound conjunction, by which the relation is fully expressed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other component part may be used. Thus, instead of the full form *אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵן* on the account, that=because, we have shorter *יֵצֵן* or *אֲשֶׁר*; instead of *אֲשֶׁר כִּאֲשֶׁר* as (conj.) we find simply *אֲשֶׁר* Ex. 14, 13, 1 K. 8, 24.

4. This brevity is carried still farther, when the conjunction, which is required to show the relation of one sentence or clause to another, is omitted altogether. This is the case—

- a) In conditional clauses; Gen. 33, 13 *drive they them* (the sheep) *hard, then they will die*, for, *if* they drive them hard etc., Gen. 42, 38. (In both cases however, the conditional relation of the first sentence to the second is sufficiently expressed to the Hebrew conception by the succession of two consecutive perfects.) Job 7, 20 (if) (well now) *I have sinned* — prop. *what could I do unto thee?* Job 19, 4.
- b) In expressions of comparison; Ps. 14, 4 *אֲכָלִי עַמִּי אֲכָלִי לֶחֶם* who devour my people (as) they would eat bread, prop. *eating my people, they eat bread*, Job 24, 19 *drought and heat carry off the snow-water* *שֶׁאוֹל חֲטָאָהּ* (so) *She'ol* (carries off those who) have sinned Jer. 17, 11.
- c) In members which are usually dependent on the relative conjunctions (*oratio obliqua*); Gen. 12, 13 *say* *אֲחֹרַי אֵת*

¹ The cases where, on the contrary, a pleonasm (in the sense of an unnecessary accumulation of particles) was supposed, may be explained by more close observation. Thus for instance *אֵם בִּי* Ex. 22, 22 stands by no means pleonastically for *אֵם*; for with *אֵם בִּי* the discourse is abruptly interrupted and the particles signify also here *for when* (comp. Ger. *ja wenn*). There may be rather the question of a certain pleonasm in the Chaldee; e. g. *כִּלְקַבְלֵי דִּי* (Germ. *alldieweil*) *wholly—for—that=because*, *כִּלְקַבְלֵי דִּי* *wholly for this=therefore*. Emphatic, not pleonastic, is the repetition of the conjunction in *יֵצֵן יֵצֵן* *because, even because* Lev. 26, 43; like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*.

thou art my sister, commonly אַחתי אָתָּה, Gen. 41, 15, Ps. 9, 21 *that they may learn, they are men*, Is. 48, 8 *for I knew, thou art quite faithless*, Ps. 50, 21. In all these cases, the dependent clause stands properly for the accusative of the object; comp. § 142, 4, Rem. 2.

§ 156.

OF THE INTERJECTIONS.

The interjections which correspond to our *ah! oh! alas! woe!* expressing denunciation as well as lamentation (אָה, וָהי, אָי, הָי; the latter two are really substantives), are connected with the object of the threatening or lamentation, by the particles עַל, אֶל, לְ, or they stand in the absolute, the object of lamentation standing in the vocative or rather in the *accusative of exclamation*. The former construction is found throughout with cries of woe (*væ tibi*) the latter with lament (comp. *væ te* in *Plautus*); as אָי לָנוּ *woe to us!* הָי הָי *woe to the people!* Is. 1, 4, אָהי הָי *alas, my brother!* 1 K. 13, 30.

On the construction of הָיָה with the *suffixes*, see § 100, 5.

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53, 2, R. 2.

108, 1.

138, R. 1. (117, 2 L.)

$$x_1 = \ddot{a}$$

$$x_2 = \ddot{a}(\epsilon)$$

$$x_2 = \ddot{i}$$

$$x_1 = \ddot{i}$$

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$$x_2 = \ddot{u}$$

$$x_1 = \ddot{o}(w)$$

$$x_2 = \ddot{e}$$

Shema simples

$$x_1 = \ddot{e}$$

$$x_1 = \ddot{a}$$

$$x_2 = \ddot{a}$$

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